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Karpov's News Conference On Geneva Outcome

LD251441 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1347 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)-As a result of the 2 days of talks in Geneva, Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, were finally able to solve all the important questions connected with the preparation of the draft treaty on the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles, said Viktor Karpov, head of the Directorate for Arms Control and Disarmament of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was speaking today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

Now the Soviet and U.S. delegations in Geneva must, on the basis of the decisions that have been reached, work out formulas that accurately reflect these decisions and agree on the Russian and English texts of the documents so that it will be possible to submit them for signing during the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Washington at the beginning of December.

The 2 days of talks were devoted to important and complex questions, Viktor Karpov went on. They were not simply confined to the problems of the treaty on medium- and short-range missiles; other questions were also discussed, connected with the preparation of the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Washington. The program and theme of the talks were discussed. A preliminary exchange of opinions was also held on questions of strategic arms, on the observance of the ABM Treaty, on conventional weapons, on questions of chemical weapons, and so on, that is, the whole wide range of questions connected with weapons limitation and disarmament. Other questions were also discussed, such as regional, bilateral, and humanitarian issues.

To speak concretely about the treaty on medium- and short-range missiles, the main questions that remained were connected with the amounts involved in the dismantling and destruction of arms, and with questions of verification. They are complex questions, connected with the material base, that is, the weapons themselves, their means of transport, and with problems of verification and ensuring the complete confidence of the two sides that all the obligations undertaken according to the agreement will be observed. Mutually acceptable solutions were found, which, we believe, are in accordance with the interests of verification and the interests of both sides and thereby open up the possibility of looking from a new angle at the preparation of a treaty on strategic offensive weapons in the future.

Rich experience has been accumulated, the representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs remarked; experiences connected with the first establishment in the history of mankind of verifying the fulfillment of an agreement connected with the elimination of two classes of weapons at once. This rich experience will undoubtedly be of use in the future, Viktor Karpov stressed.

Views Missile 'Scrapping'

LD251533 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Answering the questions of newsmen as regards the order and procedure of eliminating Soviet and U.S. medium-range and shorter-range missiles, Viktor Karpov, chief of the Department for Problems of Limitation of Arms and of Disarmament of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that the method of scrapping the nuclear charge itself has so far not been found, fissionable materials can be withdrawn from the warheads, and the sides may use them with other aims, in particular, as fuel for reactors of nuclear power plants.

Addressing a briefing for Soviet and foreign newsmen held here today on the results of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva, Viktor Karpov went on to note that the bodies of the warheads, missiles and launchers are all to be mechanically destroyed.

According to the draft treaty, special sites stated in the memorandum on the initial data, are allotted in the USA and the USSR, where the missiles and launchers will be scrapped. The procedures envisaged include such methods of scrapping as blowing up the missiles by means of a trinitrotoluene charges, burning through the fixing of a missile and switching on its engines, firing—missiles can be launched into pre-set areas from the positions stipulated in advance. The launchers can be scrapped either through cutting them in half and turning them into metal scrap, or converted.

The elimination of medium-range missiles is to be completed within three years and shorter-range missiles—in the course of a year and a half after the treaty comes into force.

On 50-Percent Reductions

LD251556 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—When replying to questions by journalists at today's briefing here, Viktor Karpov, head of the Directorate on Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that agreement already existed that during Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Washington besides the signing of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles the main attention would be given to preparations of a treaty on a 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty.

"We view it as quite realistic to prepare a draft treaty on the 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms already in time for President Ronald Reagan's reply visit to Moscow which in accordance with the existing agreement is to take place next year", Viktor Karpov said, "such a treaty could be drawn up also with due account for the experience gained by the sides when drafting the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles".

Viktor Karpov noted that the Soviet delegation had never conducted any talks with the American side on SDI. "That is an internal American matter". The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. [punctuation as received] "The most important thing for us is that there exists the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems which is called upon to rule out the possibility of the creation by the Soviet Union and the United States of large-scale ABM sysems, including, as it is specially stated in Article 5 of the treaty, of space-based ABM systems".

"The ABM Treaty is the cornerstone of the entire process of limiting and reducing strategic offensive arms. This interdependence is recognized by both sides and it is recorded also in the concluding statement published on the results of the stay in Washington of the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The differences concern only the concrete timeframe of the obligation concerning the agreed-upon period of non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. The United States prefers seven years while the USSR is for a period of at least ten years. It appears that it is this that we should speak about more concretely in practical terms. If such solutions are found, then the 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms will become really possible", Viktor Karpov stressed.

Discusses Verification

LD251608 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Answering questions from newsmen on the procedures of verification of the elimination of Soviet and American medium- and shorter-range missiles, chief of the directorate on Arms Limitation and Disarmament Problems of the USSR Foreign Ministry Viktor Karpov said that following the treaty's coming into effect the sides will hold an inspection to verify all base-line data exchanged on armaments to which the treaty applies.

Speaking here today at a briefing on the results of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva, Viktor Karpov said that the facilities stated in the memorandum on base-line data will be subject to inspection. Included in this are the facilities situated on the territories of the USSR and the USA and on the territories of European countries where Soviet and American missiles and auxiliary structures are situated.

The inspection of the very fact of the elimination of the bases and auxiliary structures is envisaged, Viktor Karpov said. As the sides eliminate facilities they will be informing each other of what has been done. The correctness of the report could be verified within 60 days. Thd drawing up of a juridical act on the elimination of the facility and its striking off the register is envisaged. Equal quotas of annual inspections are introduced.

Alongside this, it is envisaged to create a permanent system of control for the observance of the eliminations of missiles and launches as well as the observance of the discontinuation of their production, the USSR Foreign Ministry's representative said.

Assesses Results of Talks

LD251648 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

"Those who analyze agreements between the Soviet Union and the U.S. in the sphere of disarmament from the point of view of who gained and who lost as a result of them are wrong", Viktor Karpov has stated. The head of the Department for Arms Limitation and Disarmament of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs spoke at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today. "What is important is that the agreement was reached on the elimination of two classes of armaments. In other words, a process was started that could lead to complete elimination of nuclear-missile weapons".

It was pointed out at the briefing that under the treaty the Soviet Union would really have to eliminate more missiles and more warheads than the U.S. However, the Soviet side agreed to it in order to set the beginning of the process of a real reduction of nuclear-missile weapons. As a result of it not any single country stands to gain, because the point at issue is the security not only of the Soviet Union and the U.S., but also that of Europe and eventually of the whole world.

The two-day talks in Geneva were not confined to problems of the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. The sides discussed a program of the coming talks in Washington and problems to be tackled there. A preliminary exchange of views took place on the problem of strategic offensive armaments, the observance of the ABM Treaty, conventional and chemical weapons. The sides discussed as well regional conflicts, bilateral, Soviet-American relations and humanitarian issues. In short, the schedule of preparations for Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Ronald Reagan was swithced to Washington time.

"So far as the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is concerned, the main problems connected with it that were discussed in Geneva were the volume of dismantling and elimination of armaments, as

well as control. As a result of intensive work mutually acceptable solutions were found which, in our opinion, ensure reliable control and meet the interests of both sides. If so, they are providing an opportunity to look at the working out in the future of a treaty on strategic offensive armaments from a new point of view, i.e. to lay the foundation of a Soviet-American summit in Moscow".

According to the draft treaty, the spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry continued, the elimination of intermediate-range missiles should be completed in three years and of shorter-range missiles — in a year and a half. It is planned to start the elimination of the missiles 30 days after the treaty's coming into force.

Karpov believes that people will eventually gain from the treaty, apart from the consolidation of security and of the international climate of confidence. Fissionable materials from warheads could be used as fuel for nuclear power plants. The strength of rocket troops will be reduced. And, finally, the resources will be no longer spent on the production of new missiles. The work at the draft treaty reflecting the motto "disarmament for development" has been completed.

Shultz Briefs NATO Council on Arms Accord

LD251938 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Brussels November 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

A special session of the NATO council was held at the headquarters of the North Atlantic bloc today. Foreign ministers and permanent envoys of 16 member-countries took part. The session was called to hear a report of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on the results of his talks in Geneva with member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Before the end of the session Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Denmark's foreign minister, who now heads the EEC Council of Ministers, left the hall of the conferences to inform reporters of the course of the meeting. He emphasized that all the allies welcome the Soviet-American agreement and hold that it will set a good beginning to the further advance along the road of disarmament. The agreement shows the resolve of the USSR and the USA, their goodwill and openness in the achievement of mutually acceptable arrangements, the minister said.

An official spokesman for the Belgian Foreign Ministry said that Belgium is satisfied with the successful conclusion of the Soviet-American talks on medium- and shorter-range missiles. He said that on the decision of the Belgian Government the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles on the Belgian territory, envisaged by the NATO schedule, is now halted, and that following the ratification of the agreement the dismantling and elimination of missiles will be started.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz held a brief press conference on the results of the session. He said that all partners in NATO are glad that the agreement was concluded and that their representatives stated it at today's session. All the NATO member-countries were actually involved in the process of talks. He said that the agreement was achieved by joint efforts and that he holds that there is complete and unanimous support for the agreement. If somebody says that it is not to the liking of Western Europeans, then that person understands nothing about their stand.

The secretary of state noted that the Soviet-American agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles is an important document, since it is for the first time in history that the arrangement between the USSR and the USA on missile elimination has been achieved. Besides that, the agreement envisages serious measures of verification that were difficult even to imagine in the past. George Shultz expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the Soviet-American talks and the way they were held.

Comparison of Shevardnadze News Conference

Moscow *Izvestiya* in Russian on 26 November 1987 in its Morning Edition on page 5 carries a TASS report under the headline "Geneva Press Conference." A comparison with the 25 November 1987 Moscow TASS in English version, broadcast at 1005 GMT and published in the 25 November Soviet Union *Daily Report*, page 1, reveals the following variations: Page 1: Column two, paragraph two, sentence one, the *Pravda* version reads: [Text] Geneva, 25 Nov—Following two days of high-level Soviet-American talks in...(changing dateline, adding "high-level") Same paragraph, only sentence, reads: ...a news conference.

He made the...(deleting "here on November 24") Page 2: Column one, paragraph three, only sentence reads: ...dangerous to mankind and civilization. (adding "and civilization") Column one, paragraph six, only sentence reads: ...and attaining a qualitatively new level of... (subbing "qualitatively" for "drastically") Column two, paragraph two, sentence four reads: ...to both countries equally. Here in Geneva... (adding "equally") Column two, paragraph six, sentence five reads: ...have agreed today with the Secretary of State that we will... (adding "with the Secretary of State") Page 3: Column one, paragraph six, last sentence reads: We are attaching principled importance to the ABM Treaty precisely in the context of the strengthening of strategic stability.

Question: How do... (rewording, adding material) Column one, paragraph ten, sentence one, reads: ...act of elimination of bases and inspection on... (adding "of bases") Column two, paragraph three, first sentence

reads: ...Governments of the U.S. allies, and, on the other hand, between the United States and the German Democratic Republic... (rewording); Column two, paragraph nine, sentence three reads: It will be more complicated then, as we understand it. The more so... (rewording) Column two, paragraph twelve, sentence one reads: Equal quotas for both sides have been set... (subbing "Equal quotas for both sides" for "Definite quotas") Same paragraph, sentence two, reads: ...means that a reliable system of verification... (subbing "reliable" for "credible") Page 4: Column one, *Pravda* deletes paragraphs one and two, picking up with: Question: What is your attitiude... Column one, paragraph four, sentence one reads: Shevardnadze: You should be aware... ("Shevardnadze" for "Answer") Same paragraph, sentence six reads: ...Israel shares this concept of an international conference. But I cannot... (rewording) Column one, *Pravda* deletes paragraphs seven through nine, from "Shevardnadze: We have only..." through "principles of this treaty." picking up with "Question: How did you come..." Column one, paragraph ten, only sentence reads: ...and the USSR?

Shevardnadze: We have reached... (subbing "Shevardnadze" for "Answer")

Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Meeting

Communique Issued

LD262039 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1746 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest November 26 TASS—The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee held a session in Bucharest, the capital of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on November 24-26, 1987.

Participating in the session's work were: Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense of the Hungarian People's Republic; Army Gen Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense of the GDR; Army Gen Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic; Col Gen Vasile Milea, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Army Gen Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defense of the USSR; Army Gen Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states; and Army Gen Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact member states.

In addition the session was attended by representatives of the leaderships of the defense ministries of Warsaw Pact member states and of the unified command of the Joint Armed Forces.

The session was chaired by the national defense minister of Romania.

The Defense Ministers' Committee discussed questions of training troops (forces) in the allied armies and outlined ways for the further perfection of training in keeping with the Warsaw Pact military doctrine, national military doctrines and the final document of the Stockholm Conference.

The Defense Ministers' Committee said that the Warsaw Pact military doctrine, set out in the document of the Berlin (1987) meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, clearly reflected the defensive character of the Warsaw Pact countries' military strategy and facilitated dialogue between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and the building of trust in Europe.

It was subordinated to the task of preventing war—both nuclear and conventional—and oriented at sensible sufficiency in armaments and armed forces necessary for defence and the repulsion of possible aggression and proceeded from inadmissibility of use of the military path for handling contentious issues. [Moscow TASS in English at 1720 GMT on 26 November uses the word "outstanding" instead of "contentious."]

The session expressed unanimous approval for the Soviet-American accords on medium- and shorter-range missiles as a first real step toward destroying nuclear arsenals while preserving the balance of the armed forces and armaments at a lower level.

The session's participants favored the earliest conclusion of an agreement on a mutual 50% reduction of strategic offensive weapons. They believed that to resolve that task it was necessary to preserve the ABM treaty—in the form it had been signed and ratified—for at least 10 years.

The Defense Ministers' Committee defined measures for further expanding reciprocal military cooperation, consolidating unity of the fraternal armies and maintaining combat readiness of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries at a level that would guarantee security of the allied socialist nations.

The Defense Ministers' Committee adopted decisions on the questions discussed.

The session was held in a businesslike atmosphere, in the spirit of mutual understanding.

Ceausescu Receives Ministers

LD261606 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest November 26 TASS—General secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu today received heads of the delegations of the fraternal armies of socialist countries who participated in a regular meeting of the Defence Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Treaty-member states.

USSR defence minister, Army General Dmitriy Yazov and Minister of National Defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania Colonel-General Vasile Milea spoke about the results of the meeting and recommendations adopted on questions of the further deepening and widening of inter-action of the Warsaw Treaty-member states and the strengthening of their defence capabilities to ensure reliable security and peaceful development.

The Romanian leader expressed gratitude to the Defence Ministers Committee whose activity promotes the consolidation of unity and cohesion of states of the socialist community, the strenghening of their brotherhood-in-arms.

Touching upon the present international situation, Nicolae Ceausescu expressed satisfaction with the arrangement about the coming Soviet-American summit in Washington, pointed to the need of stepping up the struggle in defence of world peace, against the threat of nuclear destruction. He emphasized the important role that the peaceful policy of the Warsaw treaty-member states plays in this struggle.

News Agency Directors Meeting Continues

Yakovlev Meets Participants

LD270002 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—A regular annual meeting of the directors of 29 news and press agencies from 19 socialist and socialism-oriented developing countries was held here on November 24-26.

The participants in the meeting welcomed the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit at which a treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons will be signed. Speakers at the meeting expressed hope that the summit in Washington would lead to an appreciable headway on the key issue concerning a reduction in strategic offensive arms and the prevention of the deployment of weapons in outer space.

Topical matters aimed at explaining the cardinal foreign-policy initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, at raising the effectiveness of informational work, and at developing the agencies' cooperation in the light of the political results of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution were considered in a business-like and constructive atmosphere, and appropriate recommendations were adopted.

The meeting pointed out that the agencies' cooperation in providing information for the public of their countries and for the whole world was of more concrete nature and more effective.

Much attention at the meeting was devoted to giving greater scope to information about the life of socialist countries, their cooperation, and the need for all-round and objective familiarization with advanced experience and with problems being tackled.

It was pointed out that the agencies represented at the meeting cover not yet fully enough the current processes of democratization and acceleration of socio-economic development in socialist countries, and that materials on these matters should be more profound, competent and analytical. It was recommended that cooperation between socialist and developing countries be covered more fully.

It was announced at the meeting that the agencies would continue to cover extensively the day-to-day and persistent work to improve international atmosphere, to humanize relations between states, to create such morality and psychology in the world which would accord with the spirit of the new political thinking, and the struggle for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, for a new international economic order, and for a solution to the acute problem of the external indebtedness of the developing countries.

The agencies' directors were received by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Next meeting of the directors of the agencies of socialist and a number of socialism-oriented developing countries will be held in Warsaw in autumn 1988.

Further Report

LD241931 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow Nov 24 (CTK)—Expansion of cooperation and integration of activities of news agencies in exchanging information and photo services are on the agenda of a conference of general directors of information and news agencies from the socialist countries and states with socialist orientation.

The three-day conference is attended by representatives of 29 agencies from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Chairman of the conference Dao Tung, VNA general director, as well as other participants stressed in their addresses the need for constructive and concrete forms of cooperation between news agencies and for more integrated and comprehensive reports on life in the individual socialist countries.

CTK General Director Otakar Svercina spoke in his address of the contribution of the Czechoslovak news agency to improving the propaganda and information activity in the period of restructuring and speeding up the development of the Czechoslovak society. He pointed to the significance of closer cooperation between news agencies and the strengthening of integration in all spheres of their work, including the modernization of technology.

A regular session of Photo International—an organization coordinating telephoto services of information and news agencies of the socialist countries—will be held within the current conference.

Effect of Price Rises in Socialist World Eyed

PM251618 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 87 p 9

[Sergey Merinov article under the rubric "Social Bookkeeping": "Concerning Prices"]

[Text] What could be worse than price rises? We anxiously follow the articles and talks by our scientists and practical experts discussing the problems of price reforms: One says a change in the price structure benefits the "poor," and ultimately they will only gain from increased prices for meat; another doubts it; one demonstrates convincingly that energy sources are criminally cheap, another adds that in going over to costly energy

and self-financing, our shoe factories will not save electricity, but will add another R10 to the price of a R100 pair of boots, and there's an end to it. But what about wages, grants, pensions?

Probably because of these complex ideas, we have begun to focus our attention less frequently on the rise in the cost of living in other countries, and to think more frequently about the fact that apparently in our country neither price rises nor wage increases can be avoided. This is also indicated by the experience of the socialist countries that embarked earlier than us on the thorny path of reforms. What troubles our neighbors now, in these November days?

In Poland a nationwide referendum is to be held 29 November on the government program for the second stage of economic reform. If a Pole says "yes" to the government, he is, among other things, saying "yes" to sharp price rises on food, housing, and municipal services. Otherwise, in the government's opinion, the reform will not work.

In Hungary, according to a statement by Minister of Domestic Trade Z. Juhar, an increase of almost 15% in consumer prices is planned for next year. Price policy and tax reform are to improve the structure of production and consumption.

The Federal Executive Council, the government of Yugoslavia, has adopted a decision to increase the prices of electricity, bread, sugar, vegetable oil, milk, and so forth. At the same time certain other prices and wages will be "frozen." These measures form part of a tough program for combating inflation, in which Yugoslavia has held first place in Europe for 4 years now.

The question of prices was raised at the 13th CPC Congress too. According to official statistics, since the beginning of the year the general retail price index has risen 7%. Food prices are increasing particularly.

Clearly, neither the Poles, nor the Yugoslavs, nor the Hungarians, nor the Chinese are particularly enraptured by price rises. However... When one foreign journalist pointed out to a certain Chinese figure: People in your country are complaining about price rises, he replied: Yes, they complain. In the past they ate rice and vegetables and listened to the radio and kept quiet; now they eat chicken, watch color television, and grumble about prices.

Of course, not everyone in China is watching color television yet, but there is a good deal of truth in the comparison.

Prices are prices. In Poland a high-ranking government figure pointed out at a consultative meeting with trade union representatives that prices and incomes are only 1 of nearly 160 elements in the reform program. They objected: Prices and incomes are a key component of the reform, people's mood and their attitude to labor and to the leadership will depend on prices and wages. To some extent this view is confirmed by a recent public opinion poll: More than half of those polled associated the reform first and foremost with price rises.

All the same—what could be worse than price rises? In the opinion of many scientists and politicians in the socialist countries, some things could be worse—namely, economic stagnation, hidden inflation and hidden unemployment, the squandering of resources and the loss of interest in labor, shortages and the "black economy," and, finally, an increasingly marked lag behind the so-called "world standard." "Creeping" price rises, in no way connected with the normalization of the economy or the attempt to overcome the phenomena of crisis and stagnation—that is worse.

Gerasimov: Reagan SDI Reasoning Unrealistic

PM251815 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Kuvshinnikov report: "Right Wing Preparing in Its Own Way"]

[Text] As the intensive work on preparing for the Soviet-U.S.summit meeting approaches its peak, those U.S. political forces opposed in principle to the development of a dialogue between the two superpowers have also mounted their own counterpreparations.

This was not unexpected, G. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, emphasized. Reports and studies of various kinds are being produced, and provocative fables and rumors are being fed to the mass media.

Newsweek magazine has reported that the U.S. Navy's intelligence services are investigating mysterious episodes. Subunits of the Soviet special-purpose troops supposedly scattered throughout the world penetrated the territory of the U.S. Subic Bay military base in the Philippines. Rising from the ocean floor, minisubmarines landed Soviet James Bonds and disappeared without trace...

And here is another example, only this time from life, not from the newspapers. President Reagan has reaffirmed his adherence to the program for developing [razrabotka] and placing weapons in space. Somewhat earlier he said that the USSR is spending considerably more on work in the sphere of its own SDI, but there is nothing new in this, G. Gerasimov pointed out. We really are not engaged on developments [razrabotki] which could be called such. They concern the modest modernization of the ABM defense around Moscow, which is permitted by the ABM Treaty. The President's reasoning is far removed from reality, and bears some relation to the attempts to worsen the atmosphere on the eve of the visit.

Nor have anti-Soviet forces overlooked the question of M.S. Gorbachev's expected speech in the U.S. Congress. The Soviet leader has received invitations from dozens of senators and congressmen, including the leaders of both houses of Congress. This has caused real panic among the ultras who are seeking to hinder the Soviet-U.S. dialogue at any price.

Of course, it is not these sentiments of blind hostility that determine the predominant feelings among Americans—the majority of them await the Soviet-U.S. summit talks with approval and hope. We too, G. Gerasimov emphasized, wish to judge America precisely by these sensible Americans.

Rogachev Address Journalists at Press Center

'Sparing No Effort' For Summit

LD271227 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] The Soviet Union is sparing no effort to crown meetings and discussions between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan with weighty results. This was said at today's news conference in Moscow by Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Igor Rogachev. The signing of a treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles, he noted, is unprecedented by itself. Nonetheless, he added, we believe the third summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan will make it possible to make a significant progress toward eliminating the nuclear threat. The idea, Igor Rogachev said, is to reduce strategic offensive arms and prevent the militarization of space.

Importance of Delhi Declaration

LD271318 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—The importance of the Delhi Declaration on principles for a nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi one year ago today goes far beyond the framework of bilateral relations, said Igor Rogachev, a deputy minister of foreign affairs of the U.S.S.R. He spoke at a news conference at the press center of the Foreign Ministry today.

It is a politico, philosophical quintessence of the new vision of the world's destiny, the new political thinking and the new approach to international affairs underlain by the priority of supreme human values as the main imperative in this nuclear and space age, he went on to say. The potential and viability of the Delhi Declaration lie in the fact that it is a universal program of action.

The adoption of the declaration on the non-use of force in international relations by a plenary session of the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly a week ago is in essence the recording of one of the principles of the Delhi Declaration under international law.

A draft resolution on the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security was approved on November 25 in the first Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. The establishment of such a system is the road that will lead to a nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world in conditions when the problem of mankind's survival is coming into the fore.

World public opinion, Igor Rogachev noted, is eagerly waiting for the forthcoming visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the United States. The very fact of the signing of an INF

treaty is an event without a precedent in international relations. But we do hope that the third summit meeting will give substantive impulses to efforts to resolve the key issue of averting the nuclear threat—the reduction of strategic offensive arms and the prevention of the spread of weapons to space. We see signs of the new thinking in efforts to settle the existing conflicts in the world—they are making themselves felt, among other things, in sentiments of national reconciliation, mutual concessions and compromises.

Of course, the Soviet deputy foreign minister observed, we are not trying to present the Delhi Declaration as an accomplished formula of the world order. It is a draft resolution co-authored by the two countries and submitted to the international community for consideration. The more interested the reaction of other members of the world community, the more active their contribution to the effort to evolve a concept of interstate relations of the future the more will the cause of peace on earth stand to gain.

Arbatov, Falin, Batenin at Media Briefing
LD262315 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] [Announcer] We now present a report on today's USSR Foreign Ministry meeting at the press center between Soviet and foreign journalists. The meeting was attended by our commentator, Igor Charikov:

[Charikov] As always the spacious hall of the press center on Zubovskiy boulevard is packed out; there are literally no spare seats. The journalists are particularly interested in today's meeting because it is taking place on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit. The meeting was opened by Gennadiy Ivanovich Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

[Begin recording] [Gerasimov] We are now in an interesting period. The Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, at the level of foreign minister, have ended, successfully, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee is soon to visit Washington. We decided that it would probably be interesting for you to meet experts and hear their replies to questions on the state of and prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations. So, today, you have the chance to meet Georgiy Arkadiyevich Arbatov, director of the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, chairman of the Board of the *Novosti* Press Agency, and Major General Geliy Viktorovich Batenin a military expert of the CPSU Central Committee. We have decided to do without introductory remarks today; let's get straight down to the questions.

[Unidentified journalist] *Rizospastis*, Greece. Two questions, if I may. The first is for Georgiy Arkadiyevich, and the second for Valentin Mikhaylovich. The first question: 42 years have passed since the testing of the first nuclear bomb, to the signing of an agreement on the beginning of the elimination of nuclear weapons. What, in your view, has been the crucial factor which has led the USSR and the United States to sign this agreement? And the second question: The recent Soviet-U.S. meetings have been unparalleled in their intensiveness — Mikhail Sergeyevich is meeting President Reagan for the third time in just 2 years, while Eduard Shevardnadze and Minister Shultz have met four times over the past 6 months. What do you think: If this intensiveness in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue continues, will it be possible to eliminate nuclear weapons by the end of the century?

[Arbatov] It seems to me that nuclear weapons have taken to the limit the contradiction, the paradox, which became obvious to many people as far back as the first and then the second world war — that one cannot go to war any more. This would probably have happened in any case, whatever kinds of weapons happened to exist, but in this respect nuclear weapons have been very convincing. As they have accumulated it has become obvious that the sphere of application of military force in politics is, on the contrary, steadily diminishing. If the historical experience of the past few years teaches us anything, then it is probably that in conflicts bigger than Grenada or the Falkland Islands, military force, the use of military force, simply does not produce any political effect. However, the road to understanding this truth, as is the case with any road to understanding a truth, has been a fairly long one. But now, over the past few years, we have seen—and here, to some degree, a role has been played by the fact that the arms race has been taken to the point of utter absurdity, where the quantity of means of destruction is many times greater than that needed to destroy all life on earth, when the effects of a nuclear winter, the medical effects of the use of nuclear weapons became clear, together with many other things, another wave began—the anti-nuclear wave [sentence as heard]. We saw it perfectly obviously in the mass movement, but then, well, it started to be reflected in politics, and I think that we, the Soviet side, can be very proud that our country was the first to put forward a program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons—on 15 January last year. I think that this first step is a step away from arms control toward disarmament — this first agreement. It is a modest step, but perhaps a very significant one.

[Unidentified correspondent] Czechoslovak television. Could you tell us in more detail about the clauses in the future treaty dealing with the operational-tactical missiles stationed in the CSSR and the GDR?

[Batenin] There is no problem over these missiles, since they were stationed at the time with the agreement of the CSSR and GDR governments in response to the deployment under NATO's two-track decision on U.S. medium-range nuclear ballistic and cruise missiles. We stated at that time that as soon as the threat to the security of the socialist countries posed by the stationing of those first-strike missiles was removed, the question of these

[as heard] missiles would immediately be solved—in other words, the missiles would be withdrawn. Since the situation now is far more radical—in other words, we and the Americans are destroying virtually two classes of nuclear missiles, two classes of nuclear weapons—those missiles deployed by us on the front lines, in the GDR and the CSSR, will also be destroyed by us on the front lines and within the agreed time-scale. In other words, the enhanced-range operational-tactical missiles, as we called them, will correspondingly be on the list of missiles to be destroyed under the memorandum for exchanging numerical quantities of weapons subject to destruction, which is provided for by the future treaty, the as[illegible]t future treaty, on medium-range and shorter-range missiles. [end recording]

[Charikov] That question was answered by Major General Batenin. Afterwards, Valentin Mikhaylovuch Falin spoke.

[Begin recording] [Falin] The intensity of the Soviet-U.S. talks over the past 2-2 and 1/2 years is not only the result of the political temperament of the two countries' leaders, nor is that the main factor. On the Soviet side it reflects first and foremost an understanding that today neither the United States, nor we, nor the world as a whole, have too much time left to settle the problem on which the future of civilization and the future of the world depend. If you look at how Soviet-U.S. talks on arms limitation and reduction have been developing over the past 15 years, you could say that there has been an evident slowing down in the pace. On SALT II we spent 7 years of talks, and we have now spent almost the same amount of time on the medium-range and shorter-range missile treaty. The years spent — in contrast to the song that is popular in our country — are ceasing to be a source of richness, especially if those years are spent in an ineffectual exchange of opinions and unproductive discussions. The process must be accelerated, because what lies in wait for us is not only the danger associated with the arms race, but also the no lesser danger associated with the destruction of the enviroment. Countries, the world community, do not have the means or strength left to save the enviroment and put the ecology in good order, because those means and strength are now being consumed by the arms race.

[Unidentified correspondent] *Asahi* newspaper, Japan. Bearing in mind what Academician Primakov suggested during the latest Soviet-U.S. television bridge, can one draw the conclusion that new conditions or new proposals for a settlement over Afghanistan will be formulated during the summit meeting in Washington? [end recording]

[Charikov] That question by a Japanese correspondent was answered by Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin.

[Begin recording] [Falin] The problem of Afghanistan, if you look at it on a broad political level, the level at which it is also a part of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, is of course of a somewhat different specific nature. It does not boil down only to solving the internal Afghan problems, which have their own significance and their own importance. In the Soviet-U.S. dailogue, an important part is played by a different problem: To what extent is the United States ready today, and to what extent will it be ready tomorrow, to promote and not hinder the solution of the Afghan problem, or the problem around Afghanistan: To what extent is the United States ready to respect, with reference to Afghanistan, the principles in the UN Charter that accord the right of every state to live without external interference and to solve its internal affairs without such interference? If the United States shows a minimum of good will—and I'm not saying maximum—then this problem will be likely to be solved far more quickly, more fully and effectively.

[Correspondent] Neff, of GDR Radio. Yesterday, Secretary Shultz said that after the medium-range and operational-tactical missile treaty is signed, the United States will no longer station any of its missiles. Can this be viewed as agreement with the Soviet proposal for a moratorium? And my second question: I know this will just be speculation, but you, Comrade Arbatov, know political life in the United States well—when do you think the treaty could be ratified by the Senate, assuming no obstacles arise? [end recording]

[Charikov] At the microphone is Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov.

[Begin recording] [Arbatov] You know, if I have learned anything in the 20 years I have headed the United States Institute, it is that making any forecasts about U.S. political life is extremely risky. I would not, therefore, give a date or month for the ratification, but I think that if they work sensibly in the U.S. Senate and the government, they will come to the conclusion that they have to hurry. The political calendar in the United States is such that they have to hurry, otherwise a great deal of time will be lost. Three or 4 months spent in ratifying it may then cost a couple of political years. [end recording]

[Charikov] The reply is continued by Maj Gen Batenin.

[Begin Recording] [Batenin] Though there is a similarity here with the moratorium the Soviet leader proposed during his talks with U.S. representatives, there is, however, a difference. We proposed—since the understanding had been reached that we must, or at least we can and are politically ready to, conclude a treaty on medium-range and shorter-range missiles—that from a certain time, I think from the time immediately following our statement, all work associated with the stationing of such missiles in Europe be ceased. First and foremost this concerns the Western side, because they intended to continue stationing the missiles in accordance with NATO's two-track decision regardless of how the talks and the signing and discussion of the medium- and shorter-range missile treaty progressed before ratification.

[Unidentified correspondent] *Al-Watan* newspaper, Kuwait. My question is for Mr Falin. What is your assessment, please, of the role of Europe, both West and East Europe, in creating the conditions for destroying medium-and shorter-range missiles in Europe (?in the near future).

[Falin] Since it's a matter of destroying weapons, the main body of which is today deployed in Europe and which theoretically, in the event of an unfavorable conjunction of circumstances, might be used precisely in that region, the significance and weight of what Europeans are capable of saying, and are saying, cannot by underestimated. The Europeans—I have in mind Western Europeans in this instance—played, at one stage, a considerable role in NATO's adoption of what is known as the two-track decision, that is, in creasing the whole problem, or at least a part of that problem. The Europeans should probably have their say today, too, in the course of the debate when discussing such aspects as the elimination of nuclear weapons on the European continent, or at least in a part, [pauses] on a part of the European Continent, such aspects as the creation of nuclear-free zones or zones with a rarefied quantity of weapons, with fewer than today. At the moment, on average, Europe has 20 times more of all kinds of weapons than any other part of the world, with all that ensues from this. If the Europeans display consistency and approve not merely in words—there are a quite a few approving voices at the moment—the result achieved at the Soviet-U.S. talks, and if they desire to develop and supplement this result with other accords such as, in particular, a reduction in the number of conventional weapons situated here, or of nuclear weapons of a tactical nature which are situated here in abundance, then naturally the European situation will become much better than it is today.

[Unidentified journalist] *The Los Angeles Times*: What is the Soviet Union's attitude to the ABM Treaty, to its narrow and broad interpretations? [end recording]

[Charikov] Yevgeniy Viktorovich Batenin answers:

[Begin Recording] [Batenin] The Soviet Union is adhering to the interpretation that the United States also adhered to, evidently right up to last year. That's how I understand it...Congress is now adhering to it. In general, there are many supporters of that treaty, and I would say that the opponents are fewer in number; that is, there are fewer broad interpreters of that treaty, even among the administration, than those who interpret the treaty the proper way. Of course there are nuances, there are nuances in defining what is meant by to create [sozdavat], but in my view, it's all clear now. As soon as you get as far as testing, leave the laboratory, create a scale model and try to put it into space, you have violated the treaty. In addition, there are still very many restrictive provisions in that treaty that, on the whole, are now recognized by both sides. Therefore, our stance is a very simple one, as is that of sober-minded Americans: One must hold on to the treaty on condition that it will ensure a 50% reduction of strategic offensive arms. [end recording]

[Charikov] The meeting lasted 1 and 1/2 hours. The participants spoke not only about Soviet-U.S. relations and matters connected with the elimination of two classes of missiles and strategic offensive arms limitation. They also discussed many other problems which today worry the world public.

Arbatov: Accord 'Modest Step'

LD261804 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The Soviet Union takes great pride in being the first to put forward the programme for the total elimination of nuclear weapons before the end of this century, Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute of the USA and Canada of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, told a briefing at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry today. The draft treaty on the elimination of Soviet and American medium- and shorter-range missiles, which is to be signed at the summit meeting in Washington, is the first step from arms control to nuclear disarmament. It is a modest step, yet it may prove to be highly significant, the Soviet expert said.

The Soviet-American accords in the field of disarmament are indisputably of top priority significance. Yet other countries and peoples cannot stand aloof in the resolution of such global problems. Two classes of nuclear weapons deployed in the territories of nine countries are to be scrapped. Major General Geliy Batenin, military expert of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed that the missiles deployed in the territory of Czechoslovakia and the GDR would be scrapped within the terms envisaged by the Soviet-American agreement.

Today Europe has roughly 20 times as many weapons as any other part of the world, said Valentin Falin, chairman of the APN board, another participant in the briefing. If the Europeans display consistency and approve not only by word of mouth the results achieved at the Soviet-American talks and complement them with decisions on a cut in the conventional weapons and battlefield nuclear weapons, the situation in Europe will considerably improve. Therefore it must be remembered that the treaty on medium- and shorter range missiles has to be ratified in two terms: Legally — at the U.S. congress, and politically — in the European countries.

Answering the question whether the Soviet Union has its own "hawks" of the Caspar Weinberger type, Georgiy Arbatov noted: There is genuine unanimity in the USSR on the issue of the foreign policy aimed at nuclear disarmament, and our American partners can rest

assured about that. Yet there are doubts of a different kind, Valentin Falin emphasized, how much can one believe the signature put in the USA under the agreement prior to its sealing in a ratification act in Congress? Moreover can the USA be believed after the treaty is ratified? Will speculation on a broader interpretation of the treaty or something of that kind start? And, at last, whether the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles will be followed by efforts to reduce nuclear weapons? Will that agreement be a single act, which was signed not because of the conviction that it is necessary to reach agreement, but just because this looked a paying business today.

Touching upon the problem of anti-Soviet actions by various Zionist and right-wing groups in the USA on the eve of the visit, Academician Arbatov said: There is big-time politics concerned with matters of history-making significance and politicking. Once Sazonov, the foreign minister of czarist Russia, said about Montenegrin Prince Nikita, that he was prepared to kindle a world conflagration to fry eggs on it. And now that significant events are taking place in the Soviet-American relations, they are received in some circles of the USA as a signal for doing their own little business, preventing a Soviet-American raprochement, albeit the point at issue is humanity's survival in this nuclear age.

As a result of the preparations for the summit meeting in Washington, the participants in the briefing noted, the sides have indisputably departed from a fresh relapse of Cold war. Moreover, numerous Soviet-American contacts of recent years and especially of recent months have demonstrated that given good will on both sides, most intricate, most difficult problems can be resolved, while the principle of equality and reciprocity is becoming a good pointer on the way towards accord.

NOVOSTI's Falin Attends Media Briefing

Notes U.S. Right-Wing Threat

LD261457 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—The intensification of the Zionist lobby in the USA should be viewed in the context of the overall intensification of the activities of the U.S. right-wing forces in connection with the forthcoming signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, said chairman of the Broad of the *Novosti* press agency Valentin Falin. He spoke today in the press-centre of the USSR foreign ministry at a briefing for Soviet and Foreign journalists.

Having not yet read the text of the treaty, the U.S. right-wing forces condemned it as being, allegedly, incompatible with traditional American values and declared that it, therefore, should not be signed. This is not an objection to the treaty as such, Valentin Falin emphasized. This is a manifestation of a disagreement with the arrangement in principle between the United States and the Soviet Union, between the West and the East. And actions of the U.S. right-wing forces mean a vote for the continued confrontation.

As far as the Zionist organizations are concerned, the merging of the interests of the pro-military circles and other reactionary circles which are striving to create the atmosphere that would interfere with the present arrangement becoming an initial stage of an extensive, serious and consistent normalization of the relations between the two countries is clearly seen against this background. Statements of the right-wing circles mean an attempt to bring pressure not so much on the Soviet Union as on the U.S. Administration in order to poison the climate in which the third summit meeting extremely important for the destinies of peace is to be held, Valentin Falin said.

Discusses 'Afghan Problem'

LD261438 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—The solution of the "Afghan problem" largely depends on the extent to which the United States is prepared today and will be prepared tomorrow to facilitate, rather than hinder this process, Valentin Falin, chairman of the board of the *Novosti* press agency, told newsmen here today.

Replying to questions at a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry's Press Centre, he said: "If the United States displays minimum, not to mention maximum, good will, the 'Afghan problem' will yield to far quicker, fuller and more effective solution."

The Soviet Union, Falin said, did not pursue any objectives in Afghanistan that could be viewed by any member of the international community as incompatible with international law, principles and goals of the U.N. Charter.

"We have lived with Afghanistan for decades in peace, as good neighbours. We did not provoke developments around Afghanistan. It is our ultimate objective to restore the normal, good neighbourly climate which is, in our view, the only sensible and possible one in settling the problem relating to Afghanistan," Falin said.

Gremitskikh Rejects Military Insinuations

PM251241 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 47, 22 Nov 87 p 6

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Centre" — passages in boldface as published]

[Text] **The Report published by the Spanish newspaper** *Ya*, alleging that there are Soviet missiles aimed at certain targets in Spain, is a fabrication and the map it published, ostensibly received from the British intelligence, is a forgery.

Such insinuations are not new and they have already received an official reply, said Yuriy Gremitskikh, First Deputy Head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He stressed once again that the USSR will never use nuclear weapons against countries which don't have such weapons on their territory. Our country is prepared to give corresponding legal guarantees on that score. The publication in *Ya* is aimed at sowing distrust of the USSR at the moment when the whole world is waiting for the first practical step in nuclear disarmament.

There have been recent reports from South Africa alleging that the Soviet side is participating in hostilities jointly with the government troops of the People's Republic of Angola. One such report transmitted by *Reuter* states that South African troops have allegedly "run into the Soviet Troops".

The Armed Forces of Angola are engaged in military operations in the country's south-east to render harmless the UNITA [National Unity for the Total Independence of Angola] counterrevolutionary gangs backed by South Africa. The spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that Soviet military experts stationed in Angola are not participating in hostilities. Their stay in the country is limited only to aid in handling military hardware. The aim of South Africa's propaganda fabrication is to justify the direct intervention of the racist regime against the Angolan people.

The British weekly *The Sunday Times*, with reference to American intelligence sources, maintains that 50 Soviet Marines, allegedly acting as bodyguards for President Rene at his request, have been permanently stationed in the Seychelles since October 1986.

This report testifies to the boundless imagination of the weekly's staff, Yu. Gremitskikh pointed out. Most probably, the pretext for this lie was the arrival of the Soviet landing ship at a port in the Seychelles, on an ordinary business mission. A group of sailors made a sightseeing tour of the Republic's capital, along its traditional tourist itineraries and passed by the presidential palace. But *The Sunday Times* and "American intelligence sources" preferred to keep mum about the return of sailors to the ship. Warships of many countries regularly call at the Seychelles.

UN Condemns RSA Aggression Against Angola

LD252110 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 25 TASS—The U.N. Security Council has resolutely condemned the South African racist regime today for continuing and stepping up acts of aggression against Angola, for the continuing occupation of a part of that state. It unanimously carried a resolution describing these actions as a crude violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity, a serious threat to international peace and security. The recent unlawful penetration of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola by the head of the racist regime and some of his ministers has been described as a crude violation of Angola's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

The Security Council demanded that the RSA immediately end its aggression and unconditionally withdraw all of its troops from the Angolan territory. The U.N. secretary-general is authorized to supervise the withdrawal of the South African troops and present to the U.N. Security Council a report on the implementation of this resolution not later than on December 10. An appeal has been addressed to all states to refrain from any actions that could undermine Angola's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. The need for such an appeal, as representatives of the international community pointed out in the course of the discussion at the Security Council of the South African aggression against Angola, has been necessitated by support rendered by the overseas patrons to the racists, who uphold their military-strategic and economic interests in southern Africa.

The racist aggressor is encouraged by being left unpunished and believes it now unnecessary even to camouflage its criminal actions, said Aleksandr Belonogov, USSR permanent representative to the U.N. as long as the racist regime is given support, whether it be under the flag of "constructive" or any other cooperation, as long as attempts are made to whitewash the South African Republic and end its international isolation, the Pretoria regime will not cease its criminal policy, will continue its unlawful occupation of Namibia, launch aggressive actions against Angola, Mozambique and other "Frontline" States. Considering the special danger of Pretoria's incessant acts of aggression against Angola the Soviet representative declared for the adoption by the Security Council of most effective actions against the aggressor envisaged in the U.N. charter.

Pyadeshev on UN Information Resolution

LD260324 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 25 TASS—A special political committee of the U.N. General Assembly has urged all the countries to cooperate in the establishment of a new international order in the sphere of information and communication that would be aimed at strengthening peace and international mutual understanding, would enable everyone to take part in political, economic, social and cultural life, would promote the respect for human rights, the development of mutual understanding and friendship of all the countries. These recommendations are contained in a draft resolution on information issues adopted today. It was opposed only by the U.S. delegation.

Apart from it, the draft resolution urged all the countries to render assistance to journalists so that they could freely and effectively discharge their professional duties.

"The discussion of information issues at the special political committee reflected the problems included in the agenda of the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly", Boris Pyadyshev, representative of the USSR, told TASS. Participants in the discussion met with interest and heatedly discussed a proposal put forward by the Soviet Union on working out a world information program under the U.N. aegis. They regarded it as a concrete expression of the concept of a comprehensive system of international security in the sphere of culture and information, of the acquaintance of nations with each other's life the way it is in reality. They welcomed the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and emphasized the importance of the coming meeting of the Soviet and American leaders.

The Soviet representative pointed out that the results of the discussion and voting on the draft resolution reflected the interest of the world community in a dialogue as a counterbalance to the course of confrontation, in making mass media play an important part in the establishment of mutual confidence and respect and, of course, promote the consolidation of universal peace. As for the stand assumed by the U.S., it was the only country that opposed a full-scale dialogue between nations and countries on those vital problems.

PRAVDA Editorial Article on Relations

PM261020 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial article under the heading "A Detailed Program: Soviet Initiatives—The Path to Nuclear Disarmament and the Reduction of International Tension"]

[Text] The attention of the world public has been drawn to the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington. A treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons is to be signed there. Other matters of primary importance for stopping the arms race on earth and preventing it in space, and for ensuring the peaceful future of mankind, are to be examined, too. In this connection the political philosophy and concept of the new political thinking, the program for the practical solution of key problems, and the approaches to them of the participants in the meeting—the leaders of the USSR and United States—are arousing general interest.

Our country is going to the Washington summit with the firm intention of striving for a tangible change for the better and specific results in the matter of eliminating the nuclear threat. Life itself demands a businesslike, constructive search for mutually acceptable solutions to a whole range of problems, the solution of which depends on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons, the nonmilitarization of space, the banning of chemical weapons, the reduction of conventional weapons to a level of reasonable sufficiency, and other steps that are important for securing global peace.

Such a position is an expression of the principled line of the CPSU, its general direction originally drawn up and submitted by V.I. Lenin, in accordance with the nature of socialism and with its natural orientation toward peace. It is the direct result of the new political thinking, the innovative approaches in politics drawn up by the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and the 27th party congress. The point of departure of our new foreign policy concept, as is known, is the following idea: Despite the profoundly contradictory nature of the modern world and the radical differences of the states that make it up, the world is interlinked, interdependent, and has a certain integrity.

The Soviet leadership has told everyone clearly enough how it sees movement toward a secure and lasting peace. The intent and will of our country are recorded in the decisions of the supreme forum of the CPSU, in the new edition of the party program, in other party and state documents, and in the official speeches of leading figures in the Soviet Union. As a result, a well-structured system of new Soviet large-scale initiatives directed at eliminating the nuclear threat and preserving and consolidating universal peace has been unfurled before the world community. What are the main components of this system?

On 15 January 1986, the USSR submitted a painstakingly worked out program for the step-by-step elimination of all nuclear arms, calculated to cover 15 years up to the year 2000. On the basis of this program, Soviet representatives submitted major compromise proposals at the Geneva negotiations concerning the elimination of medium-range missiles, the cutting of strategic offensive arms by 50%, and the prevention of the militarization of space. The Soviet Union will soon have been conducting the campaign for the implementation of its program for 2 years, submitting one specific initiative after another in order to develop it. The Soviet-U.S. summit meetings—in Geneva and, in particular, in Reykjavik—were of immense importance in this regard. We should like to hope that the forthcoming meeting in Washington on 7-9 December will also be a new contribution to the cause of nuclear disarmament.

As early as summer 1985 the USSR stopped all nuclear explosions on a unilateral basis. Our unilateral moratorium on testing of anti-satellite weapons was also confirmed. The Soviet Union called on the United States to follow the good example of our moratorium and to urgently reach agreement on the complete halting of nuclear tests. Although that appeal was rejected then, our moratorium on nuclear explosions remained in force until 1 January 1987. Now, at last, full-scale Soviet-U.S. negotiations have begun on limiting and, eventually, stopping nuclear tests. There is a real possibility, if our partners display the due political will, of achieving this goal—if not at once, then at least by stages.

—Far-reaching proposals have been made, aimed at prohibiting the militarization of space and at it being used only for peaceful purposes. These proposals, as is known, were unanimously approved by that most representative forum of nations—the UN General Assembly.

—Detailed proposals by the USSR for the banning of chemical weapons and the destruction of their stockpiles have been submitted for the consideration of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. These proposals have also met with the widest support throughout the world. Elaboration of the corresponding treaty has progressed far.

—More than a year ago the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies came out with proposals to reduce to a level of reasonable sufficiency the armed forces and armaments in Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. Some figures have already been named: It could be possible to reach an understanding, say, on a reduction of both sides' armed forces by approximately one quarter. People in the West often say and write that over there they are allegedly afraid of the conventional armament of the Warsaw Pact member countries. But if that were the case, then why are the representatives of the NATO countries still not hastening to sit down at the negotiating table?

—The solution of all these and other disarmament problems was facilitated to a huge degree by yet another initiative from the Soviet side. The USSR posed the question of monitoring [proverka] the observance of agreements, which had hitherto been a stumbling block at the negotiations, in a new way and in a truly revolutionary style. It proposed a painstakingly worked out system of monitoring [proverka] at the places where the arms subject to elimination were sited and even at the enterprises producing them. The accord on confidence-building measures achieved at the Stockholm conference, thanks to the efforts of the socialist, neutral and nonaligned countries of Europe, which is already being implemented now, is also of great importance.

—The proposal from the USSR and the other member states of the Warsaw Pact on comparing the military doctrines of the two alliances, addressed to the United States and its allies, is awaiting a response. The aim of such a comparison is to give them an exclusively defensive purpose.

—Finally, the concept of establishing an all-embracing system of international security, substantiated comprehensively at the 27th party congress, is of particularly great importance. It crowns the detailed program of action, which is proposed by the Soviet Union to our partners, both in the military sphere, and in the political, economic, and humanitarian areas.

Taken as a whole, the Soviet initiatives form a specific and constructive program of action. Its implementation leads ultimately to the creation of a nuclear-free, nonviolent world, the principles of which were proclaimed a year ago in the historic Delhi Declaration, signed by the leaders of the Soviet Union and India. In the most immediate future, our initiatives open up the way for a real reduction in the nuclear threat, for disarmament, and for the strengthening of international cooperation.

The Soviet side is prepared for this. It is up to the United States to speak and act.

Efforts to 'Poison Atmosphere' in U.S.

LD251425 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Washington, 25 Nov TASS—TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

The overwhelming majority of Americans welcome the coming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. [passage omitted]

The fact that Americans welcome the coming summit is admitted even by the not unfamiliar "Committee on the Present Danger," which has always opposed accords between the USSR and the United States and from the moment of its creation 11 years ago has not ceased to frighten Americans with the "Soviet threat."

During a news conference given on Tuesday by leaders of the committee, figures from a public opinion poll carried out at its behest were announced. The results of the investigation showed that 86% of Americans were looking forward to the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and were pinning great hopes on it. But the news conference was certainly not called just to publicize these figures. The organizers' main aim was to try to sow doubt and suspicion regarding the treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. In their speeches, those taking part in the news conference, including the committee's director Charles Taylor, mainly debated whether or not the Soviet Union would obtain some advantages as a result of the conclusion of this treaty and other possible agreements. At the same time they knowingly kept silent on the fact that not one of the existing Soviet-U.S. agreements in the field of arms control would have become reality if it had not been fully in keeping with the principle of equality and equal security of the sides.

The Committee on the Present Danger is by no means alone in its efforts to poison the atmosphere in the country on the eve of the summit meeting by means of various kinds of anti-Soviet conjectures. Frank opponents of the treaty and of Soviet-U.S. cooperation in general have on the eve of the meeting mounted a frontal attack on the very idea of the conclusion of a treaty on medium-range missiles.

In this campaign the tone is being set by a group of the most conservative members of the U.S. Congress, led by Senator Jesse Helms. The capital newspaper *The Washington Times*, linked to rightist circles, has also sharply livened up in this field. Hardly a day passes without an appearence in its columns, articles, and commentaries, and announcements and appeals from various kinds of "committees" and "societies," asking the U.S. Administration "not to make deals with the enemy." Provocative actions are already being mounted and planned by a host of Zionist organizations in the United States.

But according *The Washington Post*, quoting from public opinion polls, these intrigues run counter to the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of Americans, who placed first among national priorities the creation of conditions for a lasting peace, and regard the coming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting as an important step in this direction.

Shishlin Comments on U.S. Preparations

LD252321 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Nikolay Shishlin commentary]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As we have already reported, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze summed up the results of the Soviet-U.S. Geneva negotiations, held at the level of heads of the foreign policy departments, at a news conference. I have in front of me the text of

Comrade Shevardnadze's speech at that news conference, and I would like to acquaint you with the main points in his speech. It is, in my view, a description of the agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, which is being handed on to the highest leaders of the USSR and the United States for their approval and signature. [passage omitted]

This is, of course, a very important step on the way to the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, which is due to begin in Washington on 7 December, and our thoughts are concentrated on that meeting. Next to me in the studio is Political Observer Nikolay Shishlin. I shall ask him to tell us what can now be expected—after the success, the indisputable success, in Geneva—at the upcoming meeting in Washington, and how Soviet-U.S. relations will develop. In your opinion, Nikolay Vladimirovich:

[Shishlin] Everybody expected success in Geneva, and thank God, as they say, that success came about. Now indeed, we must talk about Washington. Washington, I understand, is energetically preparing for the meeting with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

However, these preparations are proceeding at some kind of very different levels and in different ways. That is to say, on the one hand, serious, intense work is in progress on the problems which are burdening Soviet-U.S. relations, on issues connected with progress along the path toward major agreements on limiting and curtailing arms, on eliminating arms, and on the discussion of other key international problems. That is to say, serious work which is fully in accordance with requirements. But, on the other hand, Washington is preparing for the arrival of the Soviet delegation in a very peculiar manner—that is, there is a process of arousing all those forces which do not like an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, do not like progress along the path of limiting the arms race, and do not like the revival of the process of relaxation of tension, of which certain circles are simply afraid.

In particular, we are talking about the fact that all manner of ultra-rightist organizations are being aroused; all sorts of demonstrations under anti-Soviet slogans are being prepared; all kinds of groups and tiny outfits are trying to teach the Soviet Union how we must live and arrange our own lives, and how Soviet leaders should behave and with what they should concern themselves. It appears that the recent lesson of Geneva—of the negotiations between USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz—that this lesson is of no advantage to them. They are simply singing old songs, walking along the old path, and trying to seek and find old goals.

However, I think, all the [illegible] that all these varied opponents of an improv[illegible]oviet-U.S. relations are, of course, repeating [illegible]t what awaits us in the future is, without a d[illegible]oad work. Now, on the Soviet-U.S. leve[illegible]rallel on the Soviet-European level, a[illegible] level of relations with developing [illegible]n many levels aimed at consoli[illegible]ng and at turning that new po[illegible]actical deeds, which are meant to[illegible]ovement in the international atmosp[illegible]

White House Statement on Summit Cited

LD261259 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 26 TASS—The White House has circulated a statement saying that the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting will create adequate possibilities for the discussion of a broad range of issues.

The statement said that plans had been made for unofficial and other events which would enable General Secretary Gorbachev to meet with American intellectuals and members of the business community.

United States & Canada

Reagan, Carlucci Comment on Missile Accord

LD251507 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 25 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who arrived in Denver, Colorado, Tuesday, briefly conferred with journalists at the airport, on Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium-range and shorter-range missiles, he said that all the remaining problems on the way toward concluding this agreement were seemingly solved. Reagan mentioned, among other things, a host of reliable verification measures that inspired trust. He said this treaty would be concluded during his meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in Washington next month.

Speaking about the possibility of progress at the talks on a strategic nuclear armaments agreement, Reagan noted that this was one of the issues to be discussed at this meeting. He said he knew that they could not conclude it there by they would begin this process [as received].

Frank Carlucci, who has just took over [as received] as U.S. secretary of defence, former assistant to the President for national security affairs, said in his turn that it always seemed to him that the USSR displayed readiness for concluding accords. Speaking in the Pentagon, he recalled that he repeatedly took part in Soviet-U.S. meetings at which the issue of an agreement on medium-range and shorter-range missiles was discussed. Carlucci rejected the suppositions that the United States was committing a mistake by moving to conclude such an agreement. He also assessed optimistically the possibility to reach an accord on reducing strategic nuclear arsenals with the USSR.

At the same time, the U.S. President and secretary of defence reiterated for one more time the old stance of the Washington administration on the "Strategic Defence Initiative". For instance, Carlucci stated that the President would not agree to a compromise over SDI and the United States did not intend to conduct talks on limiting the research and development programmes in this field.

"The nuclear arms treaty President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will sign at next month's summit here faces an unexpectedly difficult ratification battle in the Senate, where conservative Republicans are already maneuvering to block it and future arms pacts with the Soviet Union", *The Washington Post* writes.

Political observers hold that the opponents of the agreement in the Senate can introduce a number of amendments emasculating the essence of the accord and unacceptable in advance to the Soviet side. At the same time, Senators Alan Cranston and Ted Stevens expressed the hope that despite the difficulties an agreement on medium-range and shorter-range missiles would be ratified, UPI reported.

More on Reagan Reaction

LD260556 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0417 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Washington, 26 Nov (TASS)—President Reagan, vacationing in California, received at his ranch on Wednesday a detailed account of the meetings which took place in Geneva between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

As White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater stated at a meeting with journalists in Santa Barbara, the U.S. President has also discussed with his aides the agenda for the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit.

White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker said later in conversation with journalists at Santa Barbara that the President "expressed particular satisfaction with the successful conclusion of the talks in Geneva, where the final issues which had caused concern during preparations for the signing of a treaty on medium-range missiles were resolved."

The conclusion of this treaty, noted the White House chief of staff, will have "positive results," since it "leads to a reduction of the danger of nuclear war breaking out."

Reagan, Opposition Cited on Arms, Relations

PM261923 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 87 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Confrontation"]

[Text] Washington, 26 Nov—Paul Ueyrich [name as published], a leader of the U.S. extreme right, was fuming with anger. On leaving the White House, where he had talked to the U.S. President as a member of a group of like extremists, Ueyrich exploded: "In our opinion the meeting did not go well. It appears that the President shares the view that Gorbachev is a new type of Soviet leader and that the Soviets have changed their aims. He said that Gorbachev is the first Soviet leader who does not speak of world domination." The journalists who were listening to him nodded understandingly. Idyllic harmony had reigned as a rule at previous meetings attended by Ueyrich and like-minded people in the White House. Now this harmony has shown a serious crack....

A very unusual situation has taken shape on the Potomac, where the most powerful and embittered opposition to the Reagan administration's course in respect to the USSR is coming from its traditional supporters. As the Washington summit between the two countries' leaders draws nearer, efforts to torpedo the upcoming talks in one way or another are increasing in geometric progression. What are these people worried about? What are they afraid of? They are relatively outspoken about this. They are worried not so much about the agreement

on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles, which is virtually ready, as about its historic significance and consequences. They are worried about the fact, to cite *The New York Times*, that "arms control has become a legitimate concept in Soviet-U.S. relations." J. McClure (Republican, Idaho), one of the conservative leaders in the Senate, has said openly in this context: "It is not so much a question of medium-range missiles but rather of what will follow."

It is this "what will follow" that they are afraid of in particular, realizing that the first step may lead to serious changes in the relations between the USSR and the United States, to the overcoming of hostility and distrust. "I am not very worried about the agreement as such. What does worry me, however, is the second aim of the meeting, namely Gorbachev's intention to convince the world that the Soviet Union does not present a threat," writes the author of an article in *The Washington Times*, the mouthpiece of U.S. reaction. The right-wing propaganda barrage in preparation for the December meeting is in full swing along all these lines.

These people have no sense of moderation or decency. A case in point was the utterly unseemly show staged in the U.S. Congress by a group of conservatives. This is, in essence, what happened: The White House had discussed privately with the leadership of the Senate and the House of Representatives the possibility of inviting the Soviet leader to address a joint meeting of both chambers' lawmakers. It was reported that R. Byrd, the leader of the Democrats in the Senate, and J. Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives, reacted positively to this idea, considering it quite in order; after all, it is no less interesting and important for the members of the supreme U.S. legislative body than for anyone else to hear directly from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee about Soviet foreign policy, the philosophy of the new political thinking, and the reforms in the USSR.

But no way! The strident minority on Capitol Hill raised a real rumpus: Such an address, they alleged, "cannot serve any useful purpose as far as the American people are concerned." "Cannot"—that was their whole "argument."

People tried to plead with them. The actions of the minority, Senator A. Cranston said, are "inhospitable, rude, and dangerous" and they undermine the authority of the leadership of the two chambers. "We have to treat guests to the United States with respect," J. Wright, speaker of the House said. However, the sober voices were drowned in the clamor of the opposition, encouraged furthermore by the ambiguous stance of the White House, which ultimately thought it preferable to backtrack.

In virtually all official statements on arms control there is evidence of a contradiction in Washington's line. The reaction to the news from Geneva that Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz had reached agreement on the final details of the treaty on medium-range missiles can serve as a characteristic example.

During a stopover in Denver on his way to his California ranch President Reagan said: "I am pleased to say that, judging by appearances, all outstanding questions relating to the agreement on medium-range missiles have been resolved." Yet literally half an hour later, having inspected a Martin Marietta plant where work on the creation of space weapons is under way, the White House incumbent changed his tune, declaring his loyalty to SDI, which will "not be subject to negotiations." In short, he stuck to the old position which blocks future progress in the sphere of arms control.

Nonetheless, there is no cause for succumbing to pessimism. The opponents of all accords with the Soviet Union are up against the movement of the vast mass of Americans who are tired of the nuclear madness. Many newspapers publish, day after day, a round-up of readers' letters which ardently welcome the upcoming meeting and dialogue at summit level. On the eve of M.S. Gorbachev's arrival here, thousands of representatives of the public will form a "human bridge" from the White House to the Soviet Embassy as a sign of welcome for the talks and the signing of the agreement. A "window of opportunity for disarmament"—this is how the Americans describe the present long-awaited moment in relations between the two countries. They regard it as their task and duty to prevent this "window" being shut.

Reports, Comments on U.S. Reaction to Accord

Kolesnichenko Cited

PM251137 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

["Observer's Opinion" by Tomas Kolesnichenko: "Just a Few Days Remaining"]

[Text] Strange reports and, to be honest, reports which are hard to explain to our readers are coming from Washington: The nearer we get to the start of the next Soviet-U.S. summit, the louder, more impudent, and more obstinate the anti-Soviet voices on the U.S. political stage become. Before long they will merge into a harmonious chorus. The conductor's baton is already calling for the first chords to be sustained on the same note: "The Soviets cannot be trusted, an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles benefits them, not us, human rights are not observed in their country, and so on, and so forth."

I will immediately add a reservation here. The anti-Soviet campaign in the United States must not be confused in any way with U.S. public opinion as a whole. What we are seeing is a complex interplay of political interests within the country. Now, when the new "presidential race" has effectively already begun, the political

forces striving to cause conflict between the positions of the administration and Congress, Republicans and Democrats, and other groups are increasingly making their presence felt. For the sake of their own mercenary interests, self-publicity, and ostentatious "criticism" of the administration they are prepared if not actually to torpedo the summit, then at least to create a negative atmosphere around it.

However, let us not be naive. Without the support of influential forces, those who, so to speak, "rule America," this entire campaign would not have assumed such a scale but would have been stillborn. Just look at the powerful forces which are joining in this campaign: 75 congressmen, mostly Republicans, have sent President Reagan a letter in which they opposed the Soviet leader's addressing the U.S. Congress. R. Michel, leader of the Republicans (that is, the President's party) in the House of the Representatives, has stated that "it would be a mistake to allow" a speech at a joint session of the two houses. However, "he would welcome a private meeting" between M.S. Gorbachev and members of Congress.

Why is this? Well, in my view, people there are simply afraid and have forgotten the much-vaunted U.S. democracy and "freedom of information." They are afraid of the public impact of a speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During many years' work in the United States I have heard so many times the familiar words: "You Russians are afraid of contacts, meetings between leaders, the open discussion of problems, and glasnost." Now we see that it is the U.S. legislators who are afraid of glasnost. What about the statement by that rabid reactionary, Senator Helms, who said that Gorbachev must not be allowed to address the Congress. He is too experienced a propagandist. That is U.S.-style democracy for you. A "private meeting"—with no special publicity—fine. But in the open—no way.

Even after such revelations these gentlemen continue to make a fuss about "human rights," the "reunification of families," and so on. However, this too has its own logic: Of all the former "divided families" only six have still to be "reunited," and two of those belong to former staffers of the security organs. I can imagine the kind of fuss that would be raised in America if they were staffers of the CIA or the FBI. The unfortunate Marines at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow are still reeling from the penalties for "crimes" less serious than lawful marriage.

So the rightwingers are on the offensive. Even before the summit meeting begins they are predicting the failure in ratifying the treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. For some people this treaty sounds like a funeral march, a requiem for NATO. The notorious Brzezinski (note how he always "surfaces" before summits) is urgently advising Reagan to "forestall Gorbachev's attempts to depict the medium-range missile treaty as an important turning point in USSR-U.S. relations."

For the sake of fairness, let us also note that the White House boss himself, weakened by turbulent domestic political struggle, particularly Irangate, is trying to show "toughness" toward the USSR. Addressing Republican party activists yesterday, he again publicly vowed that "the United States will never abandon SDI." The SDI program, he stated, "pales" before the "red shield" which the Soviet Union is allegedly creating. These words are enough to make one pale and redden, because the President's statement, to put it mildly, does not correspond to the truth.

What conclusion can be drawn? Although the medium-range and operational-tactical missile treaty is largely agreed upon, the struggle around it goes on. The discussions on the 50% reduction of strategic offensive armaments will be even more intense. Are the sides ready for that? I do not think I will be wrong if I say that this whole atmosphere which has been created in the United States recently simply highlights our position all the more sharply—a position of realism and direct and honest dialogue, with no attempts to grab anything, to make any gains, or to deceive. All the indications are that the U.S. side still has not reached that level. But it should. After all, there are only a few days left before the summit.

'Anti-Soviet Orgy' Cited

PM251849 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Political Observer Vitaliy Kobysh article: "Demanding, Threatening, Weeping..."]

[Text] It is as if people all over the world are watching a political metronome ticking off the passage of time: There are 14, 12, 10 days left until M.S. Gorbachev's arrival in Washington....

The U.S. secretary of state described the talks held in Geneva as a "good workout" before the work on the much more complex treaty on strategic arms reductions. Indeed, G. Shultz picked an accurate expression, fully corresponding to our moods and plans. These words might have caused only pleasure, but there are people and things that mar this pleasure.

The still unsigned treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles has malicious opponents. This is why, as 7 December draws nearer, it is unfortunately impossible to say that the only thing growing stronger is the hope for a successful meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders. Anxiety, alarm, and general tension are growing at the same time. The treaty's opponents—and they are to be found not only in the numerous ultraright-wing organizations enjoying virtually unlimited financial resources,

but also in Congress and, and this is altogether incomprehensible, within the U.S. Administration itself—have taken advantage of the struggle against the medium- and shorter-range missile treaty to launch a broad and intensive anti-Soviet campaign and a crusade against the course of easing international tension and arms reductions.

"As the summit meeting draws rapidly nearer, rightwingers (the U.S. President himself is almost a leftwinger now—V.K.) have started making more trouble for Reagan than the Russians." the weekly *Newsweek* explained. In the magazine's opinion, the rightwingers are clearly stepping up their actions in connection with last week's resignation by Frank Gaffney, the most outspoken supporter of a hard line on arms control in the Pentagon, who was told by new Secretary of Defense Carlucci that he would not be promoted to the office of assistant secretary of defense which became vacant with Richard Perle's departure (this "hawk" obviously needs no introduction on Capitol Hill—V.K.).

The mass media in the United States, and not only there, have embarked on yet another anti-Soviet orgy, which has become a kind of ritual occurrence preceding Soviet-U.S. summit meetings. The ultra-rightwingers provoke and sow hatred. Here is just one example of how they deceive and intimidate people. "In his dramatic 6-minute message to Congress describing the Japanese surprise attack on the U.S. Navy and Air Force at Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt described 7 December 1941 as 'a day which will live in infamy,'" Lieutenant General Daniel Graham, retired, now leader of the bellicose "High Frontier" organization, wrote a few days ago in *The Washington Times*. "If the talks between the United States and the USSR proceed as planned, future historians will be perfectly justified in describing 7 December 1987 as the second sinking of the U.S. defense forces."

Here is another similar theme. *The Washington Post* reported the appearance of an "authoritative" CIA report which claims that there is no method of preventing any breach of this agreement by the Soviet Union. The intelligence report was compiled a year ago and kept top secret since then, *The Washington Post* reports. Read on, and see what one of the best informed and most authoritative U.S. newspapers has to say further: "High-ranking officials in the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the National Security Council apparatus, who support the President's desire to conclude an agreement on intermediate nuclear forces, read this document—and 'wept.'"

Some weep; others, like retired Lt Gen Graham, threaten; yet others are demanding payments and concessions by the Soviet Union for the treaty and issuing ultimatums. We have already mentioned that this story goes beyond the U.S. borders. F.-J. Strauss, prime minister of Bavaria and chairman of the Christian Social Union, went so far at his party's congress as to demand that the Soviet leadership "loosen the reins in domestic policy matters and gradually change the existing system." No more and no less. All this because we and the Americans have reached agreement on a certain initial reduction of nuclear arms.

But why should the USSR pay for this and even accept ultimatums? As people say, God alone knows. The treaty is a deal which suits the sides involved in it. The medium- and shorter-range missile treaty is a good deal, R. Reagan said a few days ago; the Russians will destroy four warheads for every one we destroy.

We do not intend at this time to get into the business of attempting to establish that not everything in politics can be reduced to arithmetic; this is more often a domain where there is more scope for higher mathematics. What is clear from the U.S. President's statement one way or another, however, is that that we are talking about a treaty that suits the United States and meets the interests of its national security. So why should anyone expect additional concessions from us, why should anyone dare present us with ultimatums?

We know from experience how difficult it is to create something useful and good, and how easy it is to ruin and destroy everything. Maybe excessive significance should not be attached to everything that has been said above. The impression is, however, that the intimidation of people in connection with the forthcoming signing of the medium- and shorter-range missile treaty and the blackmail and ultimatums used against the USSR are not isolated episodes, sometimes peculiar or even simply stupid, but a coordinated campaign (coordinated in the United States, for sure). Its purpose is to obstruct and, if possible, thwart the impending important work, to prevent any improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, to discredit the changes taking place in the USSR, and to put the USSR on the defensive. It is obviously up to the U.S. authorities themselves to find out who is masterminding this malicious campaign, which is aimed not just against our country, and its ultimate goal. Especially since the Americans themselves, as opinion polls show, are in favor of improving relations with the Soviet Union.

Kornilov Hits U.S. 'Showcase Democracy'
LD251923 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Yuriy Kornilov commentary]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Follows commentary by Yuriy Kornilov, a TASS news analyst:

He who lives in a glass house shall not throw stones. One cannot help remembering this old saying now, against the backdrop of stepped up activities of they in the West, above all in the USA, of the circles, which have already long specialised in all sorts of speculation on the "human rights" problem with the sole, quite definite aim at trying to discredit whatever the cost socialism and the USSR's

home and foreign policy. In so doing they are not ashamed to picture the USA as some "stronghold of democracy", while the Washington administration is described as a "zealot" and "champion" of human rights.

We will not touch upon here in too much detail on the large-scale measures in the humanitarian field being carried out in the USSR. This process of a comprehensive broadening and deepening of democracy is well known worldwide. Yet we believe that it is apt to remind those in the USA, who so impudently picture themselves as "pillars" of democracy, at least some facts characterizing not the showcase democracy American style, but what is really happening in this field in the USA.

Take the problem of political prisoners in the USA. Only a few years ago, Edward Young [name as received], the then U.S. permanent representative to the U.N., said that the United States had "hundreds, perhaps, thousands of political prisoners." But how many of them are there in the United States today? The U.S. Administration keeps such information top secret. Yet according to the American public organization prisoners of conscience, the number of political prisoners in the U.S. jails alone is over eleven thousand. This is how things stand today. On top of that, as the U.S. press reported, U.S. President had signed a classified decree providing for the setting up of a network of concentration camps to jail 200,000 people in case of emergency.

Then there is the problem of victimization of "dissidents". Hardly a week passes without reports reaching from the USA of short work made of "dissidents", whether it be a worker participating in a strike, or, let us say, a clergyman, marching among the ranks of an anti-war demonstration. According to the estimates of American lawyers, nearly 200 American citizens are languishing in the prisons of the USA. [sentence as received] They are "guilty" of only openly coming out against the sway of militarism in the country. The authorities have arrested more than 3,000 persons for participating in an anti-war demonstrations outside the nuclear Livermore laboratory and the U.S. Air Force Base Vandenberg.[sentence as received]

Racial discrimination: While before white people came to present-day America, there were 14 million indigenous inhabitants of that country—the American Indians, there are now hardly more than one million of them. This is a result of the genocide policy pursued by U.S. authorities for more than 200 years. The inhabitants of Indian reservations are in a position of half-prisoners—half-slaves in "affluent" America. According to official statistics the living standards of a majority of Indians are by far below the "poverty line" established in the USA. More than 75 per cent of all the Indians suffer from starvation and eighty per cent of able-bodied people cannot find jobs. The unemployment rate among black Americans in a number of cities has reached 70 per cent.

Such are just some features of the much-vaunted American democracy. If we also recall in that connection that the USA has so far failed to sign 30 out of the 40 international treaties and conventions currently in effect, which directly concern human rights and that the U.S. legislative acts make no mention of such important rights as the right to work, free education, medical attendance, the right to housing, it will become absolutely obvious that the attempts of the powers that be in in the USA as posing for some "pillars of democracy" look, to put it mildly, unconvincing, but to be quite frank this pharisaical speculation strikes one as to be designed to deceive the public.

VOA-Backed 'Poor Relations' Campaign Hit

PM261730 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Nov 87 First Edition p 5

[V. Lyubin article: "Brandishing a Placard at Your Mother-in-Law: Passions Whipped Up by the Voice of America"]

[Text] It takes no particular perspicacity to predict with the greatest clarity, such as professional futurologists could only envy, another flareup of passions in the West over the human rights situation. Its peak invariably precedes major international events, and the whole problem, as a rule, amounts merely to the question of how and by what laws Soviet people live and why their priorities in interpreting human rights do not coincide with those of the West. How, for instance, are their rights to leave the USSR exercised?

You would think that virtually all Western propaganda's favorite pretexts for maneuvers of this kind had now disappeared—many of those who were formerly refused permission to leave to live permanently abroad because of their knowledge of state secrets have been given the opportunity to leave our country. Incidentally, this happened to a large extent as a result of the attainment of a number of important accords between the Soviet Union and the United States in the sphere of disarmament and reciprocal verification. It is quite obvious that the more accords of this kind there are, the fewer secrets states have to conceal from each other and the more accessible contacts between citizens of different countries become....

The latest maneuver was unexpected and bizarre, to say the least. It evidently only became possible because all the other means of whipping up passions to which the West usually resorts in such cases had been discredited—even in the eyes of the Western public. The Voice of America radio station devoted a program a few days ago to the so-called problem of "poor relations" in the Soviet Union. Since the vast majority of listeners did not even suspect the existence of this problem, former Soviet citizens Irina Dashevskaya and Mikhail Kholmyanskiy were specially summoned from Israel and invited to take

the microphone. They announced that a new movement calling itself the "poor relations" has sprung up in Moscow "in protest against the Soviet authorities' tyranny."

Among these "poor relations," I. Dashevskaya explained, are, for instance, her parents, whom she left in Moscow when she left the Soviet Union early this year and with whom she would now like to be reunited in Israel. But this is impossible, Dashevskaya explained, because the Soviet authorities are "maliciously refusing to allow" her parents to leave the country. The authorities, in doing this, are egged on by Irina's grandfather, Yu. Kuklin, who does not plan to go to Israel himself and will not let his daughter, Tatyana Yuryevna Dashevskaya, go.

A similar story was told by M. Kholmyanskiy, whose brother Aleksandr, who stayed in Moscow, is one of the "poor relations." In fact, nobody is stopping Aleksandr, but the departure of his wife Anna is objected to by her father Ya.B. Yerukhimovich.

I. Dashevskaya, in her own words, went to Washington specially to discuss with congressmen the possibility of bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet authorities so that they, in turn, would put pressure on her recalcitrant grandfather. Congress promised her this help....

Kholmyanskiy preferred to do without intermediaries, and himself appealed to the Soviet authorities, through the Voice of America, with a categorical demand that they call his brother's wife's father to order. Meanwhile Aleksandr's wife Anna, it was reported from across the ocean, has declared a hunger strike in protest against her recalcitrant father.

It must be said that this is not the only action of this kind. Thus the married couple Lyubov and Mikhail Losev first declared a hunger strike to spite their relations, and when that did not produce the necessary effect, organized a protest demonstration outside their windows. Yuriy Semenovskiy also came out on a protest demonstration against his former wife—he demanded that she give up her right to alimony for the maintenance of the child and let him go home. Vladimir Meshkov threatened his seriously ill mother-in-law with a protest demonstration....

Some explanations are evidently necessary here. Soviet law—in full accordance with our humane ideas of morality and justice—provides that every person leaving to take up permanent residence outside the USSR is obliged to present to the Visas and Registration Administration a document stating that his close relations who remain Soviet citizens have no material claims on him. And if they do? The law considers that in this case the relations should first try to sort out their relationships themselves and take one decision or another themselves. Among the "poor relations," and it was explained to us that there are no more than twenty or thirty of them, a member of some years' standing is Mark Davidovich Shifrin. Having had every reason, at the time, to believe that the parents of his wife (maiden name Zatulovskaya) would not want to part with their daughter and grandchildren, he decided to get rid of his father-in-law and mother-in-law at a stroke, and submitted a certificate to the Visas Administration showing that his wife Slava Moiseyevna had for a long time been... an orphan. Naturally, the forgery was discovered....

Of course, it is hard for an onlooker to judge what makes parents try to keep their children near them, although it is clear to everyone that children who have abandoned their parents will not be a support or a help to them in old age. Family matters are delicate matters. Let them be resolved within the family.

But the propagandists across the ocean have dragged them out into the light, and they have done this in order to get hysterical: The Soviet Union, they say, violates human rights, and therefore our country cannot trust it during the talks.

In the meantime, Vladimir Meshkov is painting a terrible placard against his mother-in-law, which he plans to brandish around the old woman's home. He has not been into her home for many years, he does not take the grandchildren to see her, but now he has decided to put in an appearance, to make her give up forever for both her daughter and the hope of seeing her daughter's children.

China

Li Peng Named Chinese Acting Premier

LD260047 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 25 Nov 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Excerpts] [Korzin] Today we received a report from China on the election of Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, to the post of Acting Chairman of the State Council of the PRC, for the period up to the first session of the seventh All-China National People's Congress. The session is to take place at the beginning of next year. [passage omitted]

By the way, when I was on a trip to China, I managed to meet with him at the opening of the Soviet trade and industry exhibition, and I can say that Comrade Li Peng knows Russian. I then asked him only one question.

[Begin recording] [Korzin] Comrade Li Peng, how do you view the current state of prospects for developing trade and economic relations between China and the Soviet Union?

[Li Peng, in Mandarin with superimposed Russian translation] Trade and economic relations have in recent years taken on a noticeable development. There are great prospects for cooperation between us. [end recording]

RENMIN RIBAO Cited on Zhao Speech

LD262226 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Beijing November 26 TASS—The newspaper *Renmin Ribao* has published today excerpts from the speech delivered by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, at the preparatory meeting of the seventh plenum of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee of the 12th Convocation held in October this year. The speech is on the issue of a clearer delimitation of the functions of the party and government bodies—the "key issue" of the reform of the PRC's political structure.

At present, the Chinese Communist leader said, this problem is being discussed in many socialist countries, yet it is a particularly acute one in the PRC. In the initial period after the country's liberation, a system of undivided authority of directors of plants was exercised in the northeast and in some other areas of China. Yet already beginning from the fifties, the undivided leadership of the party committee began to be invariably stressed. After each successive political campaign, that system was only strengthened. As a result, the party committees assumed many administrative functions, a bulky administration machinery formed, and many specialists were unproductively employed.

According to Zhao Ziyang, the division of functions between the party and government bodies is a major reorganization of the administrative structure of the Communist Party of China. This reform concerns both central, local, and primary organizations.

Determining the tasks of the party's central bodies, he pointed to the need for political leadership by the central committee of the Communist Party of China. It should determine political guidelines on the most important home and foreign policy issues, on the economy and national defense, and promote cadres to leading posts in the central government bodies. The local party committees of the provinces, cities, and districts exercise political leadership of work in the provinces on condition of implementing the Central Committee policy.

The existence for many years of a vague delimitation of the guiding functions placed the party into a position of the direct executor, created the danger of the party committees turning into a "cradle of bureaucracy." Therefore, it is only through the division of functions of the party and government bodies that it is possible to strengthen the leading role of the Communist Party of China and step up party construction, Zhao Ziyang stressed.

China's Sovereignty over Taiwan Recognized

OW270121 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] In answering its readers' questions on Taiwan, the Soviet weekly *Tourism and Facts* provides information on changes in Taiwan, a province of China. The weekly article points out: After formally recognizing the PRC, the U.S. Government has actually continued to pursue its two-China policy to humiliate the Chinese people. It has expanded its economic, trade, and military relations with the Kuomintang elements in Taiwan. Hoping to solve the Taiwan question by political means, the Chinese Government has presented the one country, two systems proposition.

The weekly points out: The Soviet Union has repeatedly reiterated that it has recognized the sovereignty of the PRC over Taiwan and rejected the idea of two Chinas all along.

Northeast Asia

Further on USSR-Japan Consultations

LD251153 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Kuchko reports:

Topical problems of the present-day international situation, questions of improving the situation and consolidating security in the Asian-Pacific region, ways and possibilities of development of relations between the USSR and Japan in different areas are being discussed at the Soviet-Japanese consultative meeting, which opened here today. This forum held by the big Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri* with the assistance of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Japanese Association of Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, is attended by politicians, parliamentarians, representatives of economic and scientific communities of the two countries.

Our meeting is being held at a time when the USSR and the United States have drawn up the agreed upon draft agreement on elimination of medium- and shorter range missiles. We sincerely welcome this agreement and qualify it as an event of historical significance, as the first realistic step towards a radical reduction of nuclear armaments, said Tadashi Kuranari, head of the Japanese delegation, former minister of foreign affairs of Japan. He said he hoped that the coming Soviet-American summit meeting would be a success and that an agreement on strategic armaments would be reached.

The present-day state of Japanese-Soviet relations do not accord with the interests of both countries, Kuranari said. He declared for a broader political dialogue, deeper mutual understanding and wider cooperation. But he tried again to gear questions of improvement of bilateral relations to satisfaction of Japan's claims to the USSR.

The changes taking place in the sphere of disarmament reaffirm that a secure, non-violent world which mankind needs so much, is possible, said the head of the Soviet delegation, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR Arnold Ryuytel. Now there is a possibility of avoiding, jointly, the threat of all-out destruction. And this possibility can be materialized only through establishing a comprehensive system of international security on the basis of joint efforts of all countries and peoples.

The concrete programme of consolidating peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region is an inseparable part of that system, said the head of the Soviet delegation. This programme was set forth in the Vladivostok speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, and was later developed in his interview to the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka*. Japan's active approach to the quest for forms of peaceful and secure development of all states of the region would substantially speed up realization of this major task. The Soviet Union consistently carries out the course of establishing relations of confidence, goodneighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation with Japan.

Arnold Ryuytel today had a meeting with Speaker of the House of Representatives of Japan's parliament Kenzaburo Hara. In the course of the talk Kenzaburo Hara expressed the hope that the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles in the course of the coming Washington Soviet-American summit meeting would become a major step on the road towards elimination of nuclear weapons.

There was an exchange of opinions on international problems and questions of Soviet-Japanese relations. The sides declared for expansion of relations between the parliaments of the two countries.

Talks End in Tokyo

LD261518 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 26 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Kuchko reports:

The participants in the first Soviet-Japanese consultative meeting which ended in Tokyo today have declared for continued efforts aimed at bringing closer the positions of the USSR and Japan on topical problems, development of goodneighbourly relations between the two states. The meeting was sponsored by the big Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri* with the assistance of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Japanese Association of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

Representatives of political economic and scientific circles of the two countries discussed a broad range of questions of improving the present-day international situation, consolidating peace and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region, considered the state and prospects of development of bilateral relations. They welcomed the fact that the USSR and the USA agreed upon the draft treaty on full elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles and expressed the hope for the success of the coming Soviet-American summit meeting.

In the course of the discussion the viewpoints of the participants did not always coincide. But they were unanimous in the opinion that Soviet-Japanese relations should and can be improved.

We hope that the fruitful exchange of opinions will give an impetus to fresh ideas, the both sides' quest for new approaches to questions of expanding the dialogue between them, consolidating relations in the interests of the peoples of the two countries, said Arnold Ryuytel, head of the Soviet delegation, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, summing up the results of the meeting.

KYODO Sees Early End to Fishery Talks

OW260347 Tokyo KYODO in English 0327 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 26 *Kyodo*—Japan and the Soviet Union exchanged proposals Wednesday on next year's fishing quotas in each other's 200-mile zone, set at the same level as this year, paving the way for an early conclusion of their annual fishery talks.

The Soviet Union sought to catch the same 200,000 tons in Japanese waters as in 1987 on condition that Soviet fishing boats be assured of normal port calls in Japan and that fishing conditions be improved, Japanese officials said.

Japan requested a 300,000-ton quota consisting of 200,000 tons to be caught free of charge and 100,000 tons subject to fishery cooperation fees, the officials said.

Japan demanded that the cooperation fees be reduced to 1.16 billion yen from 1.29 billion this year in view of sagging fish prices and that the 100,000 tons be caught in an expanded fishing area, they said.

If these conditions are met, Japan will purchase another 100,000 tons of Soviet fish on the open seas next year as it did last year, they added.

Japanese Groups Protest Call of U.S. Submarine

LD201503 Moscow TASS in English 0610 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 20 TASS—The U.S. nuclear-powered submarine *Pogy* called at the Yokosuka U.S. Naval Base in Japan Thursday.

Representatives of the All-Japan Council for a Ban on Nuclear and Hydrogen Weapons, and other antiwar organisations in Kanagawa Prefecture have visited Yokosuka to lodge a protest with the command of the U.S. Seventh Fleet over the submarine's call.

Yokosuka, Sasebo and other Japanese ports have been turned into advanced posts of the U.S. Seventh Fleet which performs the functions of a policeman in the Pacific.

The local population and participants in the antiwar movement oppose the use of the Japanese islands as a strong point of the U.S. Navy.

Gromyko Meeting With Pak Song-chol Noted
SK200355 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 0700 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Comrade Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met the party and government delegation of our country led by Comrade Pak Song-chol, member of the WPK Central Committee Political Bureau and vice president of the DPRK, which was on a visit to the Soviet Union to attend the functions celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the Kremlin on 8 November.

At the meeting, the head of the delegation conveyed to him the warm greetings of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il to respected Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

Comrade Andrey Gromyko expressed deep thanks for this and asked Comrade Pak Song-chol to deliver greetings and most ardent wishes of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and his own to the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il.

Referring to the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Korea, he said that the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's visit to the Soviet Union in October 1986 was of great significance in developing the relations between the two countries.

Referring to the question of our country's reunification, he stressed that the Soviet Union has always supported the DPRK's efforts in connection with the reunification question of Korea and will invariably support them in the future, too.

The conversation proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

Shalayev Meets With DPRK TU Visitor
PM191007 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Nov 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the AUCCTU"]

[Text] AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev met with Kim Pong-chu, chairman of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea Central Committee, who is in the USSR, at the Palace of Labor yesterday.

During the talk, which was held in a fraternal and cordial atmosphere, information was exchanged on current tasks in the activity of Soviet and DPRK trade unions, and certain questions of the international trade union movement were discussed.

ROK 'Provocation' Against DPRK Reported
LD221515 Moscow TASS in English 1102 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] Pyongyang November 22 TASS—A serious provocation was staged by the South Korean military against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the latter half of the day, Saturday. Several large-calibre machinegun blasts were fired at a DPRK post in the demilitarised zone, the *Korean Central News Agency* reported.

This planned provocative action aims at diverting the attention of the South Korean people who rose for an anti-U.S. and anti-government struggle, and also for creating a pretext for spurring new militarist preparations in the South of the Korean peninsula, the news agency points out.

Polish Minister Concludes Mongolia Visit
LD241824 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Ulaanbaatar November 24 TASS—The governments of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Polish People's Republic, the peoples of two fraternal countries welcome the coming signing of a Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles, the signs of progress in the question of the reduction of the arsenals of strategic offensive arms, as well as talks on banning nuclear weapon testing. This is said in the final document upon the conclusion of an official friendly visit to Mongolia by member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Foreign Minister of the Polish People's Republic Marian Orzechowski. He was received by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, President of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic Jambyn Batmonh, by member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary party, Chairman of

the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic Dumaagiyn Sodnom, held talks with Foreign Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic Mangalyn Dugersuren.

During meetings and conversations there was a broad exchange of opinions on the entire range of bilateral relations and topical international problems. Successful implementation of a long-term programme of the development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between Mongolia and Poland up to the year 2000 was noted with satisfaction. The importance of the further widening of economic relations between the two countries on a bilateral basis and in the CMEA framework was emphasized.

When international matters were discussed, the sides emphasized that Mikhail Gorbachev's report at the celebration meeting in the Kremlin on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October contained a profound analysis of topical problems of world politics, outlined concrete ways of the creation of an all-embracing system of international security, confirmed the Soviet Union's resolve to wage the struggle for the survival of humanity.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Envoy Sokolov on Gorbachev Bases Statement

HK241341 Quezon City MALAYA in English 24 Nov 87 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Soviet Union is against all foreign bases in foreign countries and is committed to reduce its military presence in Asia and the Pacific, newly designated Ambassador Oleg Sokolov said yesterday.

"As a matter of principle, we are against all foreign bases on foreign territories and we certainly welcome the reduction of their presence anywhere in the world including this area," Sokolov, who called on Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul S. Manglapus, said yesterday.

Reacting to a statement of Adm. Ronald Hays, U.S. commander-in-chief, Pacific Command, that Clark Air Base in Pampanga and Subic Naval Base in Zambales serve as a "checkmate to Moscow's steady military buildup at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam," Sokolov said, "That is the American point of view."

"My view is that there is simply no comparison between the American presence here and whatever we may have elsewhere in the world," he said.

Sokolov added that he does not want to get involved in "some kind of a quarrel or controversy or polemics with the American admiral."

Sokolov, who will present his credentials to President Aquino on Thursday, reiterated the statement made by USSR General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev last year in Vladivostok that if the U.S. pulls out its military bases in the Philippines, the Soviet Union will not let it go unanswered.

Asked what specifically would be the USSR's answer, Sokolov said, "We will discuss that later."

Sokolov, who was the Soviet Union's No. 2 man in Washington D.C. and is known to be an expert in American affairs, said his assignment to the Philippines came naturally, considering that he has been in the foreign service for 27 years, 15 years of which were spent in the U.S.

Sokolov said he does not see any connection between his appointment and the upcoming review of the RP [Republic of the Philippines]-U.S. Military Bases Agreement which expires in 1991.

Sokolov denied reports that the USSR is supporting local communist groups. He said the Department of Foreign Affairs has told them there is no basis for the reports and the government does not take them seriously.

Sokolov said RP-Soviet relations is basically good and friendly. He discussed with Manglapus possible ways of expanding the areas of bilateral cooperation.

Jakarta Press Cited on U.S. Bases Issues

BK190919 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1500 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Station correspondent's dispatch from Jakarta]

[Text] The Indonesian press is seriously discussing aproposal to raise the issue of U.S. bases in the Philippines at the upcoming ASEAN summit.

In its editorial, *The Jakarta Post* says that Indonesian official circles cannot find acceptable reasons why the U.S. bases in the Philippines should be retained. Since their establishment, the U.S. bases in the Philippines have played various strategic roles, including aggravating the situation in neighboring countries, the daily says.

Agreeing to the role of U.S. bases as a counterbalance and defense of Southeast Asia without a detailed study of the historical aspect of the problem means submission to a strategic [word indistinct], which contradicts the principles of Indonesia's foreign policy, *The Jakarta Post* says.

Various domestic political observers point out that Indonesia's traditional foreign policy is based on the principles of noninterference of other countries' internal affairs and on the struggle to eradicate imperialism and colonialism. Indonesia also opposes the presence of military forces in any country.

Former Indonesian Armed Forces Commander General T.B. Simatupang pointed out to the press that at the establishment of ASEAN, an agreement was reached for the temporary presence of foreign military bases in this region. The presence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines runs counter to the views adopted by ASEAN countries, which call for the creation of a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in Southeast Asia.

The Indonesian press has also carried views by Sutopo, an official of Indonesia's Center for International and Strategic Studies, and political scientist Yuwono Sudarsono, who both believe that the U.S. bases in the Philippines do not contribute to Indonesia's security. Therefore, efforts must be exerted for their removal.

Naval Squadron To Visit Haiphong 24-28 Nov
LD211500 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Under an agreement reached, a squadron of Soviet naval ships composed of a small anti-submarine ship, a sea-going minesweeper and a support vessel under the command of Rear-Admiral Anatoliy Kurik will pay an official friendly visit to port Haiphong of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on November 24-28.

Haiphong Gives Soviet Warships 'Warm Welcome'
PM251209 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Soviet Ships in Haiphong"]

[Text] Haiphong, 24 Nov—The citizens of the largest port in the north of the SRV gave a warm welcome to the detachment of Soviet warships that has arrived here on an official friendly visit.

A mass rally addressed by representatives of the Haiphong Communist Party of Vietnam City Committee and people's committee was held on the dockside. Delivering a reply speech to those present, Rear Admiral A.G. Kurik, commander of the detachment, expressed his thanks for the hospitable welcome, conveyed fraternal greetings from Soviet Armed Forces servicemen to the city's working people and the entire Vietnamese people and wished them further successes in implementing the course of renewal proclaimed by the Sixth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress.

SRV Representative Awarded Friendship Order
BK210835 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has conferred the Order of Friendship Among Nations on SRV Trade Representative Comrade Dinh Van Tran, in recognition of his great contributions the development of economic and trade cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

Korolev Views PRK National Reconciliation
BK251026 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Vladimir Korolev commentary]

[Text] The national reconciliation policy announced by the PRK is advancing more vigorously. The true nature of this policy rests on the fact that it advocates reconciliation of all Cambodians regardless of their past or ideological views. The PRK calls on all Cambodians who, for whatever reason have been living abroad, to return to their fatherland where they will be welcomed and provided with all kinds of assistance, work, and the right to citizenship. Phnom Penh has declared its readiness to begin talks with representatives of different opposition forces in order to discuss a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian problem. In this process, Pol Pot and his close associates who are accused of massacring more than 3 million Cambodians are excluded.

As reported by various news agencies, Samdech Sihanouk, leader of one of the opposition groups, has accepted the invitation to meet with Comrade Prime Minister Hun Sen.

We would like to recall to all listeners that the PRK Government is ready to give Samdech Sihanouk a high position in the leadership.

As confirmed by the Phnom Penh authorities, the Vietnamese Army volunteers will be immediately withdrawn if there is no more outside interference in the republic's internal affairs. Following this, there will be a universal election and the formation of a coalition government to bring genuine stability and security to the nation. This is the aspiration of the majority number of Cambodian people who have experienced the U.S. aggressive acts in Indochina and who have suffered from oppression and destruction by the Pol Pot clique.

Newspapers and radio inside the country report nearly everyday that members of the anti-revolution groups have crossed over to the side of the Cambodian authorities. Countless peasants, workers, students, and artists who have become refugees abroad have always dreamed of returning home. Such events could be taken as a fruition of national survival thanks to the development program pursued by the PRK Government in accordance with its line of reaching a political solution.

PRK Rally Supports National Reconciliation
PM231159 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In Support of Reconciliation"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 19 Nov—There is not a single Cambodian family that remained indifferent upon learning about the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the PRK Government. This idea was

expressed by participants in a mass rally held in Kampong Cham Province in support of the peacemaking policy of the people's revolutionary authorities. To achieve stability and tranquility in the country—this is today's aspiration of the long-suffering Cambodian nation which has lived through the U.S. aggression in Indochina and the devastating rule by Pol Pot's clique, the speakers emphasized.

The PRK's line of reconciliation with all Khmer forces and of forming a multilateral coalition government with their participation is an expression of the KPRP's [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party] profound responsibility for the country's destinies. Having focused their policy on the speediest achievement of peace, the KPRP and the republic's government are persistently seeking ways to engage in constructive dialogue with opposition forces and all interested sides, the speakers said. They expressed full support for the government's principled stance on the exclusion of Pol Pot and his closest henchmen, guilty of the death of 3 million innocent Cambodians, from the peace process. The Cambodian people must have guarantees that Pol Pot's barbaric regime will never be restored, it was said at the meeting.

If Khmer emigre groupings are genuinely interested in a just settlement of the Cambodian conflict, they ought to respond to the PRK's call to start talks. The speakers expressed hope that the forthcoming meeting between Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Prince Sihanouk, one of the opposition leaders, will make it possible to start moving toward a political solution to the Cambodia problem.

PRAVDA: Australia's Hawke To Visit USSR

PM231001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On Australian Prime Minister's Forthcoming Visit to USSR"]

[Text] At the Soviet Government's invitation Australian Prime Minister R.J.L. Hawke will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in late November through early December this year.

Further on Nishanov Delegation Visit

End Visit to Australia

PM241717 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] Sydney, 23 Nov—The visit to Australia of a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by R.N. Nishanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has ended. The Soviet parliamentarians were received by Prime Minister R. Hawke of Australia and met W. Hayden, minister of foreign affairs and trade, a number of other ministers, leaders of both chambers of the Federal Parliament, leaders of various political parties, the leadership of the Australian trade unions, and representatives of the public.

The question of war and peace was at the focus of all discussions. The Soviet parliamentarians explained the principles of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world and the Soviet concept of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

At meetings with Australian parliamentarians the common view was expressed that the parliamentarians' high responsibility requires joint or parallel efforts to resolve the key task which consists of stopping the nuclear arms race. Given the appropriate conditions, it is possible to achieve a turn for the better in international affairs. The achievement of the Soviet-U.S. accord on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles is a case in point. This accord met with the most ardent approval here.

The Australian representatives also supported the Soviet peace initiatives with respect to Asia and the Pacific region.

The Australians listened with interest and approval to the deputies' accounts about the restructuring and democratization of social life under way in the Soviet Union and about the new political thinking in foreign and domestic policy. The hosts showed great interest in the development of bilateral Soviet-Australian relations in the most varied spheres.

Today the Soviet parliamentarians left Sydney for New Zealand.

Meet With New Zealanders

PM251447 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visiting New Zealand"]

[Text] Sydney, 24 Nov—The group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by R.N. Nishanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is visiting New Zealand had meetings and conversations today with R. Jones, chairman of the New Zealand Labor Party; A. Timms, general secretary of the Labor Party; and K. Daglas [name as published], general secretary of the New Zealand Federation of Labor.

During the conversations the Soviet parliamentarians described the jubilee celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The New Zealanders' attention was drawn to the provisions and conclusions contained in the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The October Revolution and Restructuring: The Revolution Goes On."

A considerable part of the conversations was taken up by a discussion of questions relating to the international situation, disarmament, the banning of nuclear weapons, and the role of parliamentarians and trade unions in strengthening international security. The New Zealanders supported the Soviet program for the strengthening of peace and security in the Asia and Pacific region as set out in M.S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech and also his proposals contained in the interview in the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka*.

Trade Minister Discussions in New Zealand
LD240713 Moscow TASS in English 0640 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—There is a real possibility to develop trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and New Zealand, Boris Aristov, foreign trade minister of the USSR, and Edward Woodfield, deputy minister of trade and industry of New Zealand, agreed at their meeting here yesterday.

It was noted there that increased trade would be facilitated by a wider range of mutually supplied goods and broader direct contacts between organzations and firms of the two countries.

Examples of such cooperation include business relations between the USSR Agri-Industrial Committee and New Zeland's milk committee and growing regional trade between the USSR and New Zealand. With a view of involving Soviet Far Eastern regions into the latter process the foreign trade association Dalintorg has been granted the right to engage in transactions with New Zeland firms.

Cooperation between the two countries holds promise in such areas as the joint tapping of natural resources, the use of geothermal energy sources, the building materials industry, agriculture, aquiculture, and shipping.

Woodfield yesterday met also with Soviet Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Vladimir Pavlov. The two men are the co-chairmen of the Soviet-New Zealand Mixed Commission for Trade.

It was pointed out at their meeting that reform in the system of this country's foreign trade relations aims to strengthen its export base and improve the pattern of exports. Cooperative production arrangements in industry and joint ventures involving New Zeland firms provide an extra channel for broadening bilateral trade.

New Zealand Dairy Board Opens Moscow Office
LD242153 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—A mission of the New Zealand Dairy Board was opened today in Moscow. The dairy board is a cooperative organization which unites 15 thousand farmers. It is the Soviet Union's biggest trading partner in New Zealand's market. A branch of the board accredited at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade today was named "Sovinz" (the Soviet Union and New Zealand).

The biggest deal for the delivery of goods to New Zealand in the history of bilateral relations was signed today. It is a contract worth over 5.5 million U.S. dollars between "Sovinz" and the Soviet association "Avtoexport" which will supply more than 1,700 Soviet automobiles to New Zealand and other countries of the region.

"Lada" passenger cars are the biggest article of Soviet export to New Zealand, it was said at a press conference devoted to the opening the "Sovinz" mission in Moscow. Another export article is chemical fertilizers. The company is about to conclude an agreement on the import of the record volume of fertilizers from the Soviet Union.

Mutual understanding is necessary for the development of trade. And it is difficult to achieve it when partners are at such a distance as the USSR and New Zealand. The mission of the New Zealand company in Moscow will help bring the countries closer together, it was said at the press conference. "Sovinz" intends to conduct vigorous quest for new ways and forms of business cooperation with the USSR, including the setting up of joint ventures with the participation of partners from the USSR and New Zealand.

Near East & South Asia

Rogachev, Gremitskikh on DRA Troop Withdraw
LD271041 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—The Soviet Union has taken the political decision to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and wants to do this within the shortest possible time, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev told a news conference here today.

He said Diego Cordovez, a representative of the United Nations secretary-general, would soon visit Pakistan and Afghanistan to arrange for another round of Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva early next year with the mediation of the U.N. secretary-general's representative.

"Under certain conditions this round may prove final, decisive. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are doing everything in their power towards this end," Rogachev added.

"We hope that the next round of the talks will produce a final solution to the issues that still remain outsanding," the Soviet deputy foreign minister said.

"On the whole, as a result of the previous rounds of the negotiations, the sides' positions have drawn closer together and, provided there is good will on the part of Pakistan, it would be possible to come to terms on the final schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

"As far as the Afghan side is concerned, it has been demonstrating flexibility in these issues and taken a step towards the other side," Rogachev said.

Yuriy Gremitskikh, a deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate who took part in the news conference as well, added that a large group of foreign correspondents had left Moscow for Afghanistan. They had been invited for a very important event — the November 29 Loya Jirgah (Supreme Assembly) in Kabul to discuss important political decisions and adopt the nation's new constitution.

"Effectively, the groundwork for coalition government will be laid," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

He added that the Loya Jirgah would also elect the president.

"One would like to hope that these major events will provide the starting point for expediting the process of national reconciliation," Gremitskikh said.

Afghan Cities Support Reconciliation

LD241424 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Kabul November 24 TASS—Mazar-e Sharif and Sheberghan, the administrative centres of Afghanistan's northern provinces of Balkh and Jowzjan, have been declared "peace cities". The peace jirgahs [assemblies] held in those cities unanimously supported the national reconciliation policy. A number of villages in Balk provinces have been declared peace zones.

A 300-men-strong armed group has gone over to the side of the people's power in Herat Province. Former opponents of the government have declared their preparedness to protect the peaceful life of the population of 23 villages, and formed a self-defense detachment.

Another opposition group numbering more than 100 members, which was in operation in Qarah Bogh district of Kabul Province, declared its joining in the national reconciliation process. Addressing the inhabitants of the district centre Mivajan [name as received], the leader of the group said: "For eight years we have been engaged in fierce struggle against the government. As a result of the war people were killed, houses, school buildings and mosques were destroyed and fields turned into weed-grown wastelands. After the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy we unanimously decided to observe the ceasefire terms and then lay down arms. [no closing quotemarks as received]

Over the past twenty four hours, *Bakhtar* said, a total of 425 persons have returned home from Iran and Pakistan. All of them received the necessary material assistance.

Further on Ryzhkov, Delegation Visit to India

Concludes Talks, Activities

PM261651 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Spirit of Friendship"]

[Text] Delhi, 24 Nov—The final meeting between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Prime Minister R. Gandhi of India took place here today.

They continued their thorough exchange of views on topical problems of the international situation and a wide range of questions pertaining to Soviet-Indian relations. It was reaffirmed that the Soviet Union and India attach particular importance to the question of eliminating the nuclear threat, curbing the arms race, achieving disarmament, and solving tasks outlined in the Delhi Declaration. This historic document defines the two countries' long-term common aims in the struggle for creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. The coincidence, or closeness, of the views of the Soviet Union and India on cardinal problems of world politics is an important factor in improving the international situation.

The exchange of views also revealed a high level of agreement on questions of Soviet-Indian bilateral cooperation, and both countries' interest in consistently working for the further expansion of this cooperation and improving its quality. In this context, the fundamental importance of the accords achieved in 1985-1987 during the Soviet-Indian summit meetings was once again stressed. Confidence was expressed that agreements and documents which are to be signed in conclusion of the present visit will serve to further consolidate ties between the two countries in the economic, trade, tourism, higher education, and other spheres.

The two countries' heads of government noted the successful inauguration in India of the USSR Festival devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Just like the Indian Festival in the Soviet Union, it is called upon to play an important role in the spiritual rapprochement of the Soviet and the Indian people.

N.I. Ryzhkov and R. Gandhi expressed the conviction that successful development of friendly Soviet-Indian relations in all spheres will continue fruitfully to serve the fundamental interests of the two countries' peoples and the cause of strengthening peace and universal security.

N.I. Ryzhkov expressed sincere gratitude to the Indian Government and people for the warm and cordial welcome extended to the Soviet delegation on Indian soil.

The conversation took place in a spirit of cordiality and mutual understanding.

Subsequently, a number of Soviet-Indian documents were signed.

N.I. Ryzhkov and Rajiv Gandhi signed an agreement on economic and technical cooperation.

An agreement on new forms of economic cooperation between the USSR and India was signed by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and N.D. Tiwari, Indian minister of finance and commerce.

An agreement on cooperation in the sphere of higher education and training of highly skilled specialists was signed by G.A. Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, and P.V. Narasimha Rao, minister of human resources, health care, and family welfare.

An agreement on cooperation in the sphere of tourism was signed by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and J. Tytler, minister of state for civil aviation and tourism.

In addition, a protocol on commodity turnover between the USSR and India for 1988 and a protocol on the equivalence of higher education diplomas in both countries were signed.

On the same day N.I. Ryzhkov met N.D. Tiwari.

In the course of their conversation, a high appraisal was made of Soviet-Indian cooperation in trade, economic, scientific, technical, and other spheres. The sides expressed their readiness to actively promote further development of multifaceted ties between the USSR and India on an equitable and mutually advantageous basis.

N.I. Ryzhkov met with P.V. Narasimha Rao, minister of human resources, health care, and family welfare and chairman of the Indian organizing committee of the Indian Festival in the USSR.

The sides expressed themselves in favor of expanding cooperation in the area of culture and education and emphasized the importance of practical implementation of the principles of new thinking and the priority to be given to general human values in politics.

During a conversation between N.I. Ryzhkov and K.C. Pant, Indian defense minister, satisfaction was expressed with the current level and prospects of development of Soviet-Indian ties. An exchange of views on questions of mutual interest took place. It was emphasized that Soviet-Indian military cooperation is not aimed against any third country and, in accordance with the peaceable nature of the two states' foreign policy, serves the interests of their defense capability.

N.I. Ryzhkov met with Vasant Sathe, Indian minister of energy. In the course of their conversation, it was noted that mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and India in the sphere of energy has great potential and prospects and a long-term future.

The talks passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

A meeting between N.I. Ryzhkov and representatives of Indian business circles was held.

N.I. Ryzhkov noted in his speech that economic and trade ties between the Soviet Union and India have reached a high level. India is the USSR's biggest trade partner among developing countries. It is one of six nonsocialist countries of the world with whom the Soviet Union has the most highly developed trade relations.

During the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi in Delhi in November of last year, the aim was set to increase reciprocal trade within the next 5-7 years by 150%. This is an impressive task if you take into account that the volume of our trade is already approaching the 40-billion-rupee mark, but at the same time, it is also a realistic task in view of the fundamental changes currently being implemented in Soviet foreign economic ties and foreign trade. Right now, a large number of major industrial enterprises and associations in our country have the right to conduct their foreign economic operations independently. The number of these enterprises will steadily grow.

In addition, the very nature of foreign economic relations will change; purely commercial relations will be complemented by new forms of cooperation. This means, above all, production sharing and direct ties between enterprise, but it also means joint enterprises which may be built in the Soviet Union, India, or other countries.

We regard establishment of joint enterprises and development of production-sharing ties as a way toward more effective participation in international trade and international division of labor. This means that by establishing joint enterprises in the Soviet Union and developing production-sharing ties with Soviet enterprises, Indian firms, just like the firms of other countries, will increasingly open up the Soviet market for themselves. Furthermore, foreign firms will be able to make wider use of the rich scientific and technical experience of the Soviet Union. At the same time, we are hoping that the demand for Soviet technology and goods in India will also increase, especially in its private sector, which so far occupies a very modest place in imports from the Soviet Union.

It is necessary to emphasize that it is a question of the beginning of a very profound and important process. For the first time, the industrial states of the nonsocialist world, both developed and developing countries, will have a real opportunity to truly embark on opening up the vast potential of the Soviet market. This may not be a process that can be accomplished in a year or two. It may not have reached the desired scope at the current stage, but if it gets off the ground, then the prospects are very promising. In practical terms, it means a considerable expansion of the world market, a broadening of its present confines.

Over many years, Soviet-Indian economic cooperation concentrated mainly on key industries of the state sector, while at the same time Soviet organizations were major buyers of the output of private Indian firms and companies. We intend to maintain and develop both these trends in the future. However, at the same time we want to expand and intensify our ties and cooperation with private Indian companies—small, medium, and large. To this end we intend to establish closer contacts with Indian business circles on a long-term basis.

Questions of further development of trade and economic ties between our countries occupied an important place in our talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and members of the Indian Government. We discussed measures to ensure dynamic development of reciprocal trade in detail and in relatively specific terms. We also paid much attention in the course of our talks to defining the respective needs of our countries for a whole series of goods with a view supplying them on a long-term basis.

Another very important theme in our talks on economic questions was expansion of traditional cooperation between the Soviet Union and India in construction of industrial enterprises and other projects. This cooperation contributes to solving India's economic development problem and is implemented on the basis of credit calculated in rupees, which makes it relatively effective and advantageous for India. On the other hand, it provides the Soviet Union with the possibility to additionally increase its purchases of Indian goods.

We also intend to involve Indian firms in construction of projects, and in particular hotels, in the Soviet Union. Proposals to this effect have been submitted to the Indian Government.

At the same time, the task of increasing commodity turnover by 150% does, of course, require substantial changes in the structure of our trade, primarily by increasing reciprocal deliveries of processing industry output, since, logically, their growth must outstrip the growth of raw material deliveries. This is to be facilitated by a more extensive use of credit operations in deliveries of Soviet machine-building industry output to the Indian private sector, and in particular by involvement in these operations of the USSR Foreign Trade Bank.

Another important sphere for increasing commodity turnover is to be development of production sharing. We have just signed an agreement on new forms of cooperation. In spring of this year, as is generally known, a long-term program for production sharing was signed. These two documents are intended to play an important role in development of Soviet-Indian economic ties. According to our estimates, it is quite realistic to increase reciprocal deliveries of goods produced as a result of production sharing from 300 million rupees this year to 8-10 billion rupees on either side by 1995.

As for establishment of joint enterprises, we are only at the very beginning in this area. So far, only one such enterprise has been set up in our country—the Indian Restaurant in Moscow. We would, of course, like Indian business circles to play a more active role in this work.

At the beginning of this year, a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree and a Soviet Government resolution on questions of establishing joint enterprises with participation of foreign organizations and firms were published in our country. They contain the basic organizational, economic, and legal guidelines concerning establishment and operation of such enterprises.

Relatively recently, proceeding from experience already accumulated, we have also adopted a decision on a number of additional advantages for such enterprises. For instance, they are exempted from tax for the first 2 years after declaring their profit. Furthermore, favorable material and technical supply conditions, and conditions for marketing of their output, have been created.

It goes without saying that in a matter like this, many questions are arising. It is understandable that Indian businessmen, just like those of other countries, will need some time to study economic conditions and select the best and most suitable spheres of cooperation.

A Soviet-Indian committee for questions of economic cooperation has been established in the Soviet Union and attached to the trade and industry chamber. It represents various Soviet ministries, organizations, and enterprises which have been authorized to operate in the external market. It would obviously be a good idea to give some thought to establishment in India of a similar integrated organ.

We are prepared to considerably expand cooperation with companies and organizations of friendly India in the sphere of science, technology, trade, finance, banking, provision of servicing facilities, tourism, and advertising. Joint scientific research, design, and engineering organizations could be set up. There are opportunities for cooperation in third markets via establishment of joint enterprises there.

In short, broad prospects are opening up. I would like to wish representatives of Indian business circles success, prosperity, and good, mutually advantageous, and reliable business relations with Soviet firms, organizations, and enterprises.

N.I. Ryzhkov answered numerous questions put to him by participants in the meeting, which passed in a warm and amicable atmosphere.

N.I. Ryzhkov visited one of India's modern scientific centers, the National Immunology Institute, and inspected its laboratories.

Dr. T. Prasad, director of the institute, briefed the ranking Soviet guest on main trends of research conducted in the sphere of theoretical and applied immunology. The institute plays an active part in international scientific cooperation, and its ties with Soviet research workers are being expanded. The comprehensive long-term program for scientific and technical cooperation which was signed in Moscow by the top Soviet and Indian leaders makes provision, specifically, for joint work in the sphere of biotechnology and immunology.

The Indian side is very interested in joint scientific projects of this kind, emphasized S. Ramachandran [name as published], secretary of the Indian Ministry of Science and Technology's Biotechnology Department.

N.I. Ryzhkov noted that the research conducted at the Indian institute relates to vitally important problems which are of interest not only for India but for mankind as a whole. A number of the problems being studied by the Indian scientists could become the subject of bilateral cooperation.

The head of the Soviet Government wished the personnel of the Indian institute success in their humane work.

N.I. Ryzhkov planted a tree near the entrance to the main building of the institute complex.

A meeting between N.I. Ryzhkov and the aktiv of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society and the Friends of the Soviet Union Society was held in the House of Soviet Science, Culture, and Art in Delhi.

The meeting, which took place in the conference hall, was opened by V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

Addressing the head of the Soviet Government, Aruna Asaf Ali [name as published], a prominent Indian public figure and winner of the international Lenin Prize "For Strengthening Peace Between Peoples," said: We have received many gifts from the Soviet people, but the most precious gift is our friendship. There is no more important task than to strengthen and develop this friendship.

The Soviet leader was also greeted by Bali Ram Bkhagat [name as published], chairman of the Friends of the Soviet Union Society, and V.R. Krishna Ayer [name as published], chairman of the national council of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society.

Then N.I. Ryzhkov addressed those present. Thanking them for the warm welcome and cordial greetings, he emphasized that Soviet-Indian friendship is a tradition in whose consolidation and development Indian public organizations and intelligentsia have played, and continue to play, a very important role. They are carefully preserving and developing everything that Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi have done for the rapprochement of the Soviet and the Indian people. A big contribution to this noble cause has also been made by the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society and the Friends of the Soviet Union Society.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers noted that all the public organizations strengthening ties between our countries have got their "second wind," as it were, thanks to the historic Delhi Declaration on the principles of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, signed last year by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi. This document laid the basis for uniting broad public movements in the struggle for peace and friendly relations between peoples.

The Soviet and Indian national festivals serve the same aim. As festivals of friendship, they are a vivid example of the cultural interchange between two great peoples and reflect the trend toward democratization of international life in general. The peoples act as direct participants in building new international relations based on equality, mutual respect, and renunciating power politics. Such public activities give back the original meaning to the term "international." International relations must be relations between nations reflecting their peaceable wishes and aspirations.

The Soviet leader emphasized that expansion of cultural exchanges is conducive to the assertion of new thinking in international politics.

N.I. Ryzhkov expressed profound appreciation to all those taking part in activities geared to consolidation of Soviet-Indian friendship and wished the activists of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society and the Friends of the Soviet Union Society much success in their work. It is the most noble, most humane work that one can imagine today, he said.

The meeting passed in a warm and cordial atmosphere. The speech of the head of the Soviet Government was listened to with great attention and was applauded.

N.I. Ryzhkov received a group of young deputies of the Indian parliament, who presented him with a greetings message in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the first anniversary of the signing of the Delhi Declaration.

During a short conversation, the deputies declared their commitment to principles of a nonviolent and nuclear-free world and the traditions of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

N.I. Ryzhkov wished the young parliamentarians success in their noble efforts to strengthen peace and cooperation between peoples.

Speaks at Press Conference

LD252348 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2005 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Report on a press conference held on 25 November in New Delhi by visiting Soviet official Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov]

[Excerpts] [Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] Obviously those who have assembled here today are most interested in the political results of our visit to India. Above all, it must be said that during the visit, there were thorough conversations with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. We conferred with him for several hours, one to one. There was a frank and constructive conversation about ways of perfecting cooperation between our countries, in both bilateral and international matters. [passage omitted]

We are convinced that the high level and depth of content of Soviet-Indian relations, the fruitfulness of political dialogue and economic ties, are an example of peaceful coexistence, and a factor in establishment of a new just and democratic international order. [end recording]

[Announcer] Then answers were given to journalists' questions.

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] Are there some new changes, new elements with regard to the USSR's ties with China?

[Ryzhkov] Our position with regard to China is well known. We have stated it repeatedly at all levels, and it is not undergoing any changes. We are in favor of friendly, good-neighborly relations with China. We are pursuing such a line.

As far as economic relations with the PRC are concerned, they are developing well. We are satisfied with their development, and we even perceive opportunities for a development of part of the economic ties. Our trade is mutually beneficial; it satisfies both us and the PRC.

[Kalyagin] Nikolay Ivanovich, it has so happened that your visit is taking place exactly a year after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's arrival in this country. We perceive in it a continuation of the line planned 1 year ago. Could you say more specifically what new opportunities are opening up on this path, for expanding our relations with India, as a result of the present meetings and talks?

[Ryzhkov] It is a very big question and requires a lot of time in order to throw light on all the aspects. I can say that on the 27th—that is the day after tomorrow—it is exactly a year since the signing of the celebrated Delhi Declaration. Of course, vast changes have taken place during that year, both in the world and of course in our bilateral relations with India. Our visit to this country demonstrates once again that the areas and views which were formulated are being implemented.

[Unidentified correspondent] A correspondent from the Indian press agency. Last year, when Mr Gorbachev was here, very important announcements were made by the prime minister of India and Mr Gorbachev regarding cooperation in the area of science and modern technology. Could you say what success has been achieved in the past year in that area?

[Ryzhkov] During the year, we have been working fairly thoroughly on those matters, although, you understand, they are such matters that it is difficult to obtain some great results in 1 year. That is connected with science and scientific and technical progress. We have outlined a whole plan for our cooperation in very interesting areas. I think, if the Indian Government agrees, of course, we could unite efforts in some areas, send our scientists to India, and correspondingly invite scientists to the Soviet Union to work in laboratories. So we expect that soon Indian scientists will start coming to us. [end recording]

Satisfied With Results of Visit

LD251513 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] New Delhi November 25 TASS—TASS correspondents V. Dzhalagoniya, S. Solovyov, V. Talanov report:

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov has expressed satisfaction with the results of his official friendly visit to India, negotiations with Prime Minsiter Rajiv Gandhi. At a leave-taking press conference he said that the opening of the Soviet Union's festival in India had been received as a veritable festival of friendship of the two peoples. Just as India's festival in the USSR, the Soviet Union's festival in India will become yet another striking, memorable page in the annals of Soviet-Indian relations, will play an inestimable role in drawing the Soviet and Indian peoples spiritually closer together. We are for such relations to be established between all countries and peoples of the world, said Nikolay Ryzhkov. We advocate that hostility

and suspicion, which still take place between these or other states, should finally and for all time give way to mutual understanding and respect of every nation's right to have its own path of development, to decide its future itself. This is exactly what we imply when we speak of the need of a new political thinking at the nuclear-space age.

Assessing his conversations with Rajiv Gandhi, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that they "held a frank and constructive discussion of ways of further perfecting cooperation of our countries both in bilateral and international affairs".

As was repeatedly noted by Mikhail Gorabchev, in Soviet foreign policy India holds a special, priority place. This is natural. India is a major world power, our close neighbour and a friend of long-standing in Asia. Considering the place and the role of the Soviet Union and India in the present-day world, friendship and cooperation between them are a factor of global significance.

It is natural that international problems held a major place in our negotiations, said the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. We noted once again with satisfaction that on all key problems of the present positions of our countries are close or coincide. This enables us to consistently cooperate in the international scene with the aim of solving such tasks as the safeguarding of universal peace, disarmament, above all nuclear, political settlement of regional conflicts, establishment of equitable and fair international economic relations.

The discussion of international problems has shown that the Delhi Declaration on principles for a nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world, with the anniversary of its signing to be marked by us in the next few days, has received broad international recognition as a kind of a code of peaceful coexistence applicably to conditions of the present-day nuclear-space era. It was noted with satisfaction both by the prime minister and on our part, that a number of positive changes took place in the world situation since the signing of this historical document. Obvious is a certain progress attained in the main area — reduction of nuclear armaments. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and me [as received] hold the unanimous opinion that the agreement on destruction of Soviet and American medium-and shorter-range missiles planned to be signed in the course of the coming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan, is bound to become just the first, but historical step along the way of toally ridding our planet of nuclear arsenals. The next step should be a substantial reduction of strategic offensive systems. But, the profound conviction of our side, shared by our Indian friends, is that the process of nuclear disarmament can successfully develop provided outer space remains peaceful, provided compliance with all the treaties which stand in the way of militarisation of outer space.

We reaffirmed the community of the stands of the effect that in present-day conditions security, just as peace, are indivisible, Ryzhkov underlined. our firm opinion is that the United Nations Organization should play a decisive role in elaborating such a formula. We stand for the role of the United Nations and its Charter, as the main instruments of international peace, both universal and regional, to be further enhanced. Unfortunately, there are many regional conflicts and they carry away thousands of lives. In some places one is witnessing the beginnings of positive tendencies—in Afghanistan, in Central America, in Indochina, in the Middle East. But for the process of normalisation to become stable a long way is still to be traversed and efforts should be exerted by all the states sincerely interested in seeing regional conflict situations unblocked. We are ready for the extensive work which is to be done inthis direction.

The Soviet Union and India hold the unanimous opinion on the need of reconstructing international economic relations, establishing a new international economic order which guarantees economic security to all the states, said the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. We hold that the success of this process largely depends on resolute changes in the sphere of attaining disarmament and channelling the resources thus released for the needs of creation, development and cooperation.

In the course of negotiations with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi we paid much attention to the situation in the Asian Continent and adjacent areas of the Indian ands Pacific Oceans, said Nikolay Ryzhkov. The prime minister and me [as received] came to the conclusion that establishment and development of broad coopration on the basis of equality and mutual benefit of all countries of the Asian-Pacific region, irrespective of their sociopolitical systems, would meet the fundamental interests of all Asian states, would promote the restructuring of international relations on an equitable and democratic basis. We highly appreciare India's efforts in building up confidence and strengthening mutual understanting between states of the South Asia region.

The prime minister told us in detail about the steps being undertaken by India in settling the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, said the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Soviet Union supports these steps. We highly appreciate the fact that both India and Sri Lanka are actively and insistently leading things to nrmalisation of the situation in that insular state, The way the two neighbours should do so. This is of great significance for stabilising the situation in Asia as a whole.

Touching upon a whole number of new important agreements between the Soviet Union and India, signed in the course of the visit, Nikolay Ryzhkov underlined: "I am confident that these documents will promote further drawing our countries and peoples closer together. In trade and economic cooperation, considering objective requirements of our countries, priority is being given to the task of sharply increasing its proportions and of substantially restructuring it spattern. The traditional commodity exchange, we believe, should be organically

supplemented with new forms of economic cooperation, including integration of production on a long-term basis, formation of joint enterprises and scientific organizations.

Praises Joint Relations

LD251914 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Excerpts] A press conference given by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov took place in Delhi today. Speaking to Indian and foreign journalists, he said:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] [Passage omitted] It was noted with satisfaction by the prime minister and by our side that since the moment of the signing of that historic document a number of positive changes have taken place in the world situation. A certain amount of progress is quite apparent, which has been achieved in the main area—the reduction of nuclear weapons. Prime Minister Gandhi and I are united in the opinion that the agreement to destroy Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles, scheduled to be signed during the coming meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Reagan, is called upon to become just the first historic step along the path of totally ridding our planet from nuclear arsenals.

The next step should be a substantial reduction of strategic offensive systems. However, the profound conviction of our side, shared by our Indian friends, is that the process of nuclear disarament can successfully develop only if outer space remains peaceful and provided that all the treaties in the way of the militarization of outer space are observed.

We also reaffirmed the community of our positions to the effect that in present-day conditions, security, just as peace, are indivisible. Our firm opinion is that the United Nations Organization should play a decisive role in elaborating such a formula. We stand for the enhanced role of the United Nations and its charter as the main instruments of international peace, both universal and regional. Unfortunately, there are many regional conflicts and they carry away thousands of lives. In some places one is witnessing the beginnings of positive tendencies—in Afghanistan, in Central America, in Indochina, and in the near East. However, for the process of normalization to become stable, a longer distance is still to be traversed. Efforts should be exerted by all states sincerely interested in seeing regional conflict situations unblocked. We are prepared for the extensive work which needs to be done in this direction.

The awarding of the Indira Gandhi Prize to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which has just been announced, is a new recognition of the importance of Soviet foreign political initiatives in favor of peace and disarmament. We gave a high assessment of the Nonaligned Movement and the initiative of the Delhi Six in the cause of defending peace, nuclear disarmament, the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, and also in the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The Soviet Union and India are united in the opinion of the need to reconstruct international economic relations, and to establish a new international economic order that guarantees economic security to all the states. We hold that the success of this process largely depends on resolute changes in the sphere of attaining disarmament and channelling the resources thus released for the needs of creation, development, and cooperation.

During negotiations with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, we paid much attention to the situation in the Asian continent and adjacent areas of the Indian and Pacific oceans. The prime minister and I are convinced that the establishment and development of broad cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit of all countries of the Asian-Pacific region, irrespective of their sociopolitical systems, would meet the fundamental interests of all Asian states, and would promote the restructuring of international relations on an equitable and democratic basis. In this connection we highly appreciate India's efforts in building up confidence and strengthening mutual understanding between states of the South Asia region.

The prime minister told us in detail about the steps being taken by India in settling the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The Soviet Union supports these steps. We highly appreciate that both India and Sri Lanka are actively and persistently leading things to a normalization of the situation in that island state, the way the two neighbors should do so. This is of great significance for strengthening stabilization in Asia as a whole.

Over recent decades our countries have, through their joint efforts, created a multifaceted system of bilateral, mutual advantageous Soviet-Indian links in economics, in trade, in science, technology, culture, and in the arts. We always remember that Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi stood at the source of this cooperation. Our conversations with the prime minister confirmed once again that Soviet-Indian cooperation in all spheres is reaching qualitatively new levels. However, despite the impressive successes, we cannot and do not have the right to rest on our laurels. Life itself dictates the need for a constant and persistent search for new forms and paths of Soviet-Indian cooperation.

Over the past year much has been done both with regard to Soviet-Indian cooperation in the sphere of world politics and from the viewpoint of bilateral links. In the talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and other Indian leaders, we reviewed in detail the implementation

of Soviet-Indian accords reached earlier and a broad circle of questions on bilateral relations. A whole range of important new agreements have been signed.

I am confident that these documents will draw our countries and peoples closer together. In trade and economic cooperation, taking into consideration the objective requirements of our countries, priority is being given to the task not only of sharply increasing its proportions but also of substantially restructuring its pattern. The traditional commodity exchange, we believe, should be organically supplemented with new forms of economic cooperation, including the integration of production on a long-term basis, formation of joint enterprises, and scientific organizations.

In conclusion, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the Government, India's political and public figures for the hospitality they have shown, and for the feelings of affection and respect that they have expressed toward our country, and the Soviet people. Thank you for your attention. [end recording]

Seen Off by Gandhi

LD251455 Moscow TASS in English 0821 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] New Delhi November 25 TASS—Today Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who was in India on an official friendly visit, departed from New Delhi for Moscow.

At the airport he was seen off by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Zaykov Greets Returning Ryzhkov

LD251722 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today returned from Delhi to Moscow. At Sheremetyevo Aiport, he was met by Comrade Zaykov, Politburo member, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of Moscow City Committee of the CPSU and other officials. The welcoming party included Budhwar, India's charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Indian Finance Minister on USSR Agreements

LD262239 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Nov 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The results of the talks between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and the Indian leaders have been met with great interest in that country.

Our correspondent had a meeting with Tiwari, Indian minister of finance and commerce:

[Begin recording of Video interview with Tiwari, speaking in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] [Tiwari] The agreements signed during Ryzhkov's visit undoubtedly open up a new stage in the development of our cooperation. The most important points of these agreements are the construction of an oil refinery in (Karnale) and a thermal power station in West Bengal. An accord was reached that the USSR would give India a large credit to build them—about 12 billion rupees. Another important result of the visit to is the decision to increase trade turnover between our countries in 1988 to 50 billion rupees. Also of great importance is the agreement on new areas for cooperation between us; in particular the joint construction of enterprises with the participation of large private companies, and the setting up of enterprises in third countries.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is there that is fundamentally new, compared with the agreements concluded previously, in the documents signed in Delhi?

[Tiwari] The main thing is that for the first time bases have been elaborated for cooperation among private and state companies and enterprises. Working groups have already begun to harmonize practical measures to produce some 150 types of output at mixed enterprises. New interesting proposals were put forward at Ryzhkov's meeting with Indian businessmen. I am convinced that the plans we have outlined will be successfully implemented. [end recording]

Naval Squadron To Visit India 29 Nov-3 Dec

LD261310 Moscow TASS in English x1302 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—In accordance with anagreement, a squadron of Soviet naval vessels consisting of antisubmarine ships *Marshal Shaposhnikov* and *Admiral Zakharov* and destroyer *Boevoy*, under the command of Rear Admiral V. I. Darnopykha, will pay an official friendly visit to the Indian Port of Bombay between November 29 and December 3.

USSR's Volkogonov, Delegation Visits Libya

PM251431 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] A delegation of Soviet Armed Forces political personnel headed by Colonel General D.A. Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, has visited Libya at the invitation of the leadership of the Libyan Armed Forces.

The delegation was received by Major 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, member of the Libyan revolutionary leadership, and Colonel Abu Bakr Yunus Jabir, member of the Libyan revolutionary leadership and commander in chief of the Libyan Armed Forces.

The visit proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. The delegation returned home 22 November.

Sub-Saharan Africa

USSR Denies Troops Fighting in Angola

LD251717 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Soviet servicemen's involvement in fighting on the side of the Angolan Government troops is ruled out completely and, therefore, the contentions by Western news agencies about the death of some of them are absurd, a *Moscow News* correspondent was told at the competent quarters of the USSR Ministry of Defence. It was confirmed, the weekly writes in its 48th issue, that Soviet military experts really stay in Angola. But their task is only to train Angolans in handling military equipment.

The reports by Western news media that the Soviet side allegedly takes a direct part in combat operations jointly with government troops of People's Angola play into the hands of Pretoria and its patrons in the West and them alone, the weekly point out. Few people, even in the Republic of South Africa, now believe the stereotype statements by the ringleaders of the apartheid regime on a "communist menage" to the region. Hence, a hoax was set afloat from Pretoria disclosing imaginary casualties among Soviet military men in Angola, who supposedly were involved in armed clashes.

In actual fact, however, it is the troops of the Republic of South Africa that stormed into Cuando-Cubango and Cunene provinces in southern Angola 250 kilometers north of the border with Namibia. Up to 3,000 South African servicemen, a good deal of military hardware, including armoured units and aircraft, have been concentrated in these areas of Angola now occupied by racists. The invaders put to use chemical weapons and napalm during the fighting.

This time, in Pretoria they did not even make attempts to conceal the act of armed aggression against Angola, the most massive one in recent years. The "inspection" tour by South African President Botha of the area of Angola, seized by the invaders, is an open challegne to the sovereignty and interests of the states in the region.

The South African Army does not defend the country's borders now but carried out combat operations in the territory of the sovereign state, that is acts in the role of the aggressor, the *Moscow News* stresses.

Zambia's President Kaunda Arrives for Visit

Greeted by Gromyko, Dobrynin

LD261211 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia arrived in Moscow today for a working friendly visit.

The president was welcomed at the airport by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Gromyko, Kaunda Holds Talks

PM271407 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Zambian Meeting"]

[Text] On 26 November A. A. Gromyko had a meeting in the Kremlin with Zambian President Kenneth David Kaunda, who is on a friendly working visit to the Soviet Union.

You are in Moscow, A.A. Gromyko said in conversation with the visitor, at a time when the Soviet Union, having entered a very important period of its development, has started to extensively implement the ideas of restructuring in two basic areas: radical socioeconomic reform and the thorough democratization of all social life.

K. Kaunda noted the importance of restructuring in the USSR and the associated changes in the economic and social life of Soviet society. This process, the Zambian president believes, has captured the attention of all the countries of the world, particularly those whose peoples have chosen the progressive path of development.

The interlocutors expressed satisfaction with the fact that in the past the Soviet Union and Zambia have taken a considerable step forward in strengthening bilateral relations. Links and cooperation are developing successfully in the economic, trade, cultural, scientific, technical, and a number of other areas of mutual interest, in particular geology, public health, higher education, and the spread of knowledge.

Both sides stressed the need for political collaboration among all countries—big and small—in the search for ways of safeguarding world peace and generating an atmosphere of trust and cooperation in relations between them.

A.A. Gromyko expressed satisfaction that the major Soviet peace initiatives have the support of the Zambian leadership. This African country's constructive foreign policy coincides with the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy geared to creating a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

The two sides were unanimous that the main common task of all states, irrespective of their social systems and the size or degree of their influence on world affairs, is to prevent mankind from sliding into the abyss of nuclear war. Mass destruction weapons are still being accumulated.

In view of this the Soviet Union, consistently implementing a line toward nuclear disarmament, to the point of the total destruction of nuclear weapons, has reached an accord with the United States on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. This agreement is to be signed during CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to Washington at the beginning of December.

The whole world welcomes the political will and spirit of cooperation shown by the two powers in preparing this agreement. At the same time, all manner of countries are expressing the hope that this step will be followed by further steps by the nuclear powers in the sphere of eliminating mass destruction weapons.

On the basis of this goal—the elimination of the threat of war—the Soviet Union, in conjunction with the socialist countries, is seeking to create an all-embracing system of international security which would cover all the intrinsically interrelated components: military-political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian security.

The idea of an international security system also envisages the principle of safeguarding development through disarmament.

During the conversation the sides comprehensively analyzed the situation in southern Africa.

The USSR Supreme Soviet chairman stressed that the responsibility for the explosive situation in the region rests with the racist South African regime and imperialist circles supporting it, who are eager to preserve apartheid and supercharge conflicts on the continent. He resolutely condemned South Africa's aggressive actions against the People's Republic of Angola and declared that the Soviet people are expressing solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Angolan people in defense of their independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

In order to settle the situation in South Africa vigorous new efforts are needed to unite and activate all forces who want to eliminate this seat of tension. The United Nations, the OAU, and the Nonaligned Movement obviously have a potential role here.

K. Kaunda declared that the "Frontline" African countries are seeking to strengthen unity for the defense of their sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity against encroachments by the racist Pretoria regime. He expressed deep thanks for the Soviet Union's principled approach to the problems of Southern Africa, for its persistent efforts to resolve the conflict situation in the region as soon as possible.

During the conversation the sides confirmed their solidarity with the struggle for freedom and independence by the Namibian people under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO] and the people of South Africa headed by the African National Congress [ANC].

The conversation passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Participating in the conversation were, on the Soviet side: G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A. K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.G. Zakharov, USSR culture minister; K. F. Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; A. Yu. Urnov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and USSR Ambassador to Zambia O. S. Miroshkhin; and from the Zambian side [most Zambian names as transliterated]: Akson Dzhesper Soko, member of the United National Independence Party Central Committee; Frederick Mwela Chomba, minister of legal affairs and acting foreign minister; Everist Kizito Nzhelesani, director of Zambian medical services; Genri Sambaymbay Meyebelo, Dzheyms Chando Mapoma, and Nefital Mishek Nyalugve, special assistants to the president; Mkondo Denvud Lungu, chief of a Zambian Foreign Ministry department; Fillip Foloshi Pumbve, Dzhulius Ayzek Nkoma, and Major Vezi Kaunda, secretaries to the president, and Zambian Ambassador to the USSR Fayn Mushaukva Liboma.

The sides agreed that the meeting would be continued.

Dobrynin Receives Visiting Mali Official

LD232241 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin today received Felifeng Sissoko, member of the Central Executive Bureau of the Democratic Union of the People of Mali, who arrived in Moscow as a personal representative of the secretary general of the Democratic Union of the people of Mali and president of the Republic of Mali, Moussa Traore. The Malian representative conveyed Moussa Traore's personal message to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A friendly conversation was held, during which the sides exchanged opinions on urgent international issues, ways of further upgrading and extending Soviet-Malian cooperation and developing ties between the CPSU and the Democratic Union of the People of Mali.

Message For Gorbachev Presented

AB251058 Bamako Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] A delegation of the Central Executive Bureau [BEC] of the Democratic Union of Malan People led by General Filifing Sissoko, general treasurer of the BEC,

arrived in Moscow on 22 November. The leader of the delegation delivered a message from the secretary general of the party, General Moussa Traore, to Comrade Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the International Relations Department. The message was addressed to His Excellency Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of CPSU Central Committe.

On that occasion, Gen Filifing Sissoko and Comrade Dobrynin discussed the fruitful cooperation between Mali and the USSR, especiall projects initiated during the official friendly visit made by Gen Moussa Traore in July 1986 to the USSR. The discussions took place in the presence of the Malian ambasador to the USSR, His Excellency Abdoulaye Amadou Sy.

According to our correspondent in Moscow, Gen Filifing Sissoko and his delegation yesterday attended a conference essentially devoted to the new reform policy called (perestroyka). Yesterday afternoon a working session took place between Malian and Soviet delegations at the Soviet State Committee.

Anti-Cholera Aid to Guinea-Bissau Pledged

PM251239 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] The USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies has adopted a decision to grant free aid to the Guinea-Bissau Red Cross Society in the implementation of measures to combat a cholera epidemic.

East Europe

Honecker Welcomes USSR-U.S. Treaty Agreement

LD260027 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin November 25 TASS—The arrangement between the USSR and the USA to conclude a treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles of the two countries inspires those who really want peace and mutually advantageous international cooperation and act in this direction. This statement was made here today by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR Erich Honnecker, commenting on the results of the talks in Geneva between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The GDR people welcome the results of the Geneva talks since they meet vital interest of the peoples of the whole world.

Ceausescu Talks With PLO's Yasir 'Arafat

PM251215 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "For Close Cooperation"]

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Nov—N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of Romania, has met here with Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, who has been visiting Romania.

During the meeting, the sides discussed the situation in the Near East. N. Ceausescu declared Romania's support for the Palestinian people's just struggle and for their legitimate desire to live in peace and security. It was pointed out that peace in the region is possible only if all Israeli troops are withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories, if the Palestinian people's right to create an independent state is recognized, and also if the security and sovereignty of all Near East countries are ensured.

The need to convene an international conference on the Near East within a UN framework with the participation of all the interested sides, including the PLO, was emphasized, and the desire to continue close cooperation between the RCP and the PLO was expressed.

Arms Consignment for Solidarity Intercepted

PM251335 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Pistols in the Icebox"]

[Text] Warsaw—A quite shabby trailer was left in front of a Gdansk hotel by some unknown person. Someone soon turned up who regarded it as his—one Krzysztof Szymanski, a resident of Gdansk. He had hired a tow truck in order to tow away the trailer. When Szymanski tried to drive away, militia workers became interested in the trailer.

Thanks to their inquisitiveness, we have the opportunity in Warsaw of seeing what was in the trailer. There were two capacious iceboxes, in which were cunningly concealed... optical sights, gas pistols with cartridges, gas cylinders for the same purpose, electric batons, and also all sorts of electronic gadgets designed to eavesdrop on telephone and radio conversations, a selection of false documents, subversive literature, and other such things.

The package from Sweden was intended for members of underground "Solidarity," who are assimilating experience of international terrorism this time. Yes, it is precisely this word which defines the nature of their activity now. J. Urban, the Polish Government's press spokesman, stated at a press conference that the shipment of a package with such unequivocal contents from Sweden must be considered as transferring political terrorism onto Polish soil.

In this connection, let us hear what K. Szymanski, who turned out to be a past figure in "Solidarity" and who is now an active functionary in the illegal "fighting 'Solidarity,'" said after his arrest in the course of his interrogation. Asked whether the "goods" shipped from abroad were designed for "fighting 'Solidarity,'" he replied "yes." "We are interested in such items, because the methods used so far have not passed the test. We are interested in more offensive methods." Who is to be the target of the "new methods," that is, terrorist methods? "If my memory serves me right," K. Szymanski said, "mention was made of party committees. They are to be the main targets."

The detainee admitted that J. Merkiel and B. Borusiewicz (printing equipment, illegal publications) and A. Kolodziej (everything designed for terrorist acts) were to receive the Swedish consignment. A. Kolodziej, on the instructions of M. Kaleta and J. Lebenbaum—representatives of "Solidarity's" Brussels office—wanted to organize special terrorist groups on the coast.

This is what the former pseudo-trade unionists who not so long ago proclaimed themselves to be devotees of democracy have sunk to. However, they prefer to assess their "ideological commitment" not in Polish zlotys but in dollars, as a result of which they have been nicknamed "greenbacks." M. Kaleta, who has taken refuge in Sweden, sent a letter as well as the terrorist "smuggled goods," that is, the contraband. In it he writes, inter alia, the following: "Shipping 'smuggled goods' to Poland is expensive and often costs up to 50% of the value of the goods themselves, and sometimes more. This is normal since only an idiot takes risks for free. That is the reality."

Contraband has indeed become a business, and for some reason there is no sign of idiots working only for an idea. The underground leaders who remain in the country must also be paid, and they do not want to live from hand to mouth. In late August, *Izvestiya* reported how the U.S. Congress adopted a decision to allocate 1 million dollars from the state budget to "pay its people in Poland" ("Hara-kiri for the Polish Contras"). Thus, the Polish contras, like the Nicaraguan contras, have officially become the paid agents of another state. They have dropped the mask of "independents" and "patriots." And as we can see now, they are becoming commonplace terrorists. Political saboteurs have become primitive criminals. A natural outcome.

West Europe

More on Portugal's Soares Visit to Moscow

Officials Attend Signing Ceremony

LD241857 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—Soviet-Portuguese documents were signed in the Kremlin today—an agreement on economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Portugal and an agreement between the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on finding and returning archive materials.

Present at the signing ceremony from the Soviet side were Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Andrey Gromyko, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Vice President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Petr Demichev and other officials, and from the Portuguese side—the president of the Portuguese Republic Mario Soares and the officials accompanying him in his visit to the USSR.

Talks With Gromyko Conclude

PM251501 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Soviet-Portuguese Talks End"]

[Text] The talks between A.A. Gromyko and President Mario Soares of Portugal ended in the Kremlin on the afternoon of 24 November. The talks participants, whose names were published in the press earlier, were joined by Joao de Deus Pinheiro, Portuguese foreign minister, and Jose Cutileiro, director general of the Foreign Ministry political and economic department, who arrived in Moscow after the talks had begun.

In accordance with a previous agreement, the talks partners devoted their second meeting mainly to the discussion of bilateral relations. The talks resulted in mutual agreement on the point that comprehensive development of Soviet-Portuguese relations in all spheres is the key task.

The sides were unanimous in viewing the conversation between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President M. Soares of Portugal as exceptionally important for strengthening mutual understanding between the two countries on fundamental international problems and expanding Soviet-Portuguese cooperation.

During the 13 and 1/2 years which has elapsed since establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Portugal, A.A. Gromyko said, these relations have been through thaws as well as periods of relative coolness. We have been able to see and compare virtually all possible variants of the state of these relations. What main conclusion for the future can be drawn from this experience? The following: Good, friendly relations between the USSR and Portugal are in the interests of both countries. We must not stand still in development of relations between them; it is necessary to advance, to seek new forms of cooperation.

Both sides expressed the desire to expand the Soviet-Portuguese political dialogue with the aim of exchanging views on topical international problems and resolving fundamental questions of practical cooperation in various spheres. It was noted in the course of the talks that contacts between the two countries' representatives at state level, interparliamentary ties, and consultations between ministries and departments which take part in implementation of business contacts make up the fabric of political relations and should take place on a regular basis.

The sides agreed that favorable preconditions exist at the current stage for a substantial advance in trade and economic ties between the Soviet Union and Portugal. They expressed themselves in favor of expanding mutual trade, improving its structure, and increasing commodity turnover. It was also noted that efforts to find new forms of economic cooperation, including establishment of joint enterprises need to be stepped up.

Specific questions of development of bilateral relations in the scientific and technical sphere were also discussed in a constructive spirit. International scientific conferences, which had been organized by Portuguese scientists and attended by Soviet specialists, were positively appraised. Portuguese colleagues in turn praised international scientific conferences which had been organized in the Soviet Union.

The participants expressed themselves in favor of a further invigoration of Soviet-Portuguese cultural contacts. Their current level could be raised substantially to bring it in line with the rich historical heritage and current cultural potential of the two countries' peoples.

Ties can and must also be developed in the sphere of sport, tourism, and other kinds of cooperation.

Concluding the talks, both sides gave a positive appraisal of the Portuguese president's visit to the Soviet Union. The sides expressed confidence that mutual understanding reached in the course of this visit would contribute to deepening of the political dialogue and expansion of mutually advantageous, full-blooded businesslike cooperation between the two countries in various spheres.

The atmosphere at the talks was constructive and friendly.

Mrs Soares Tours

PM261617 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Maria Barroso Soares, wife of the Portuguese president, met with Soviet cultural figures and members of the Soviet Culture Foundation Board on 24 November. She visited the Moscow Academy Choreography College on the same day. Yesterday the guest visited the Fashion Center.

M.B. Soares was accompanied by L.D. Gromyko.

Attends Kremlin Ballet

LD242336 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] This evening the Portuguese president and his wife attended a USSR Bolshoi theater production of Minkus' ballet "Don Quijote" at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. Also present in the box with the president were Comrade Gromyko and his wife, Comrade Demichev, and other officials.

Attends Economic Seminar

LD252030 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—TASS correspondents, Sergey Bazhenov and Sergey Ustyukov report:

"I am satisfied with the results of the meeting between representatives of Portuguese and Soviet business circles", said President of the Portuguese Republic Mario Soares. He spoke today in the International Trade Centre upon the conclusion of a seminar on foreign economic ties between the USSR and Portugal. The seminar was attended by representatives of Portuguese business circles, heads of Soviet foreign trade organizations.

"The meeting reflected the dynamism characteristic of relations between our countries", the Portuguese president said. "It is very important that mutual political will for the intensification of Soviet-Portuguese relations, specifically, in the area of trade, was expressed during our meeting with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and during the talks with President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko. Thus, the existing prerequisits for the development of eocnomic contacts between the USSR and Portugal were politically endorsed. Politicians had their say. Business circles must now take the initiative", Mario Soares said.

Portuguese Minister of Trade and Tourism Joaquim Martins Ferreira do Amaral emphasized the importance of the seminar. He stressed that the Portuguese side views its holding as an opportunity to bring relations between the USSR and Portugal to a qualitatively new level.

"The level of Portuguese-Soviet economic contacts is not in keeping with the potentialities of the two countries. These relations could be more versatile, wider and more active", Do Amaral said. "Apparently the USSR and Portugal have areas of the economy in which we could cooperate successfully and achieve good progress. I am sure that this seminar helped start this cooperation".

The Portuguese minister of trade and tourism emphasized that the visit of President Mario Soares to the Soviet Union served as an opportunity to outline the

areas of bilateral cooperation, specifically in trade. We hope that summit contacts will signify a new stage in the development of mutually advantageous relations between the USSR and Portugal", he said.

Addressing the seminar, USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Vladislav Malkevich said that the visit of President Mario Soares to the Soviet Union will give a fresh impetus to the development of bilateral ties. The signing on Tuesday of the agreement on economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the USSR and Portugal was a striking example of mutual interest of the sides in the development of business contacts. "And though bilateral trade achieved a definite level in 13 years of our relations, its potentials are far greater. The quest of the reserves for increasing trade turnover meets mutual interests of Portugal and the USSR", Vladislav Malkevich said.

News Conference Held

LD251832 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—At a press conference here today the President of Portugal Mario Soares said that his talks in Moscow with President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko and his meeting with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev were "very constructive and promising". Mario Soares is on an official visit in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Our countries belong to different socio-political systems", Mario Soares went on. "Portugal is a member of the North Atlantic Alliance and the Common Market and for this reason our foreign policy is determined by absolutely clear frameworks. At the same time Portugal is a peaceloving country and we have many common viewpoints with the Soviet Union on global issues of our time. We particularly welcome the efforts presently made by the USSR and the United States to achieve an agreement on arms limitation".

"We in Portugal follow with much interest the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union", Mario Soares said. He noted that General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev had given convincing and sincere answers to all of his questions.

"I think this visit has turned a page in the history of our relations", the president stressed. "I hope that in future we will be able to develop them for the good of peace and international cooperation. I believe all conditions have now been created for this. Concrete steps in this respect have already been made in the course of the talks both in the economic and other fields".

Mario Soares said that he had invited Mikhail Gorbachev and Andrey Gromyko to visit Portugal.

In his replies to questions the Portuguese president noted that most diverse questions concerning the situation in the world, including the situation in various regions of the world, humanitarian questions and many other ones were raised in the course of his visit to the Soviet Union.

More on News Conference

LD261525 Moscow in Portuguese to Portugal 2100 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Report on press conference by President of the Portuguese Republic Mario Soares, in Moscow on 25 November]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Soares] I believe that this visit has been qualitatively different from all visits hitherto, and that it really marks the turning of a new page in the relations between the USSR and Portugal. For several years, these relations were almost frozen, even though they had gotten off to a very good start in 1974 when we reestablished diplomatic relations. I myself, as foreign minister at the time, had the honor of signing that first agreement on reestablishment of diplomatic relations and the others that followed.

But in fact, our relations have been frozen for quite a long time. Due to circumstances pertaining to developments in Portugal and also in the USSR, this visit is now taking place. This visit, in which I am accompanied by two members of the Portuguese Government and an important delegation, has in my opinion, by virtue of the substance and quality of the talks, marked the turning of a new page in a progressive sense in the relations between our two countries. There are, I believe, palpable results in the important agreements signed and in what has been arranged for the coming months, especially the visit to Portugal by a delegation from the Soviet Academy of Sciences to lay down foundations for scientific and technological cooperation, and also the prospect of a visit to the USSR by a delegation from our Secretariat of State of Culture to discuss cultural matters. All this, and the trade relations in which advances have been made and prospects, which in my opinion are very promising, has been opened up. All this shows that, despite our different social and political systems, we will be able to have the kind of relationship that I would describe as normal between a European Community member and the USSR. [end recording]

[Announcer] Referring to the coming Soviet-U.S. summit, the Portuguese president stated:

[Begin recording] [Soares] I make no secret of the fact that I was very curious personally to meet CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and that my curiosity has not been disappointed—quite the contrary—by our meeting. I very much enjoyed our conversation. I listened to him with great attention and enjoyed listening to him and noting the enthusiasm with which he talks of problems that are fundamental for world peace, and his power of persuasion. I salute, as does Portugal and, I

would have thought, all the peaceloving peoples, the meeting that will take place in Washington on 7 December between Gorbachev and Reagan. This will be a historical meeting that will really mark a turning point and will give a major impetus to international detente as deemed necessary by all peaceloving peoples like the Portuguese.

Portugal is following the talks very closely. We are a member of a system of alliances, NATO, as it is known, and are kept informed through that channel. We are following developments with great attention and, naturally, with enthusiasm, since we believe that there is no alternative to peace and that a nuclear catastrophe would have tragic consequences for the whole of mankind. This nightmare must be eradicated. We must make progress toward peace. [end recording]

[Announcer] Speaking of current problems, Mario Soares pointed to the need for unity among all movements and political forces to ensure sound peace on earth. Inter alia he stated:

[Begin recording] [Soares] I believe that all peaceloving forces must unite and that we must advance toward serious negotiations, free from considerations of an ideological nature. Negotiations between the United States and the USSR are followed with the greatest attention by the European Community, by all its member countries of which Portugal is one. Portugal is following negotiations with great interest and great hope. We are convinced that in fact the time has come, and that by the end of the century, nuclear weapons must really be banished from the face of the earth, thus opening up a horizon of hope for the whole of mankind. Personally I have always been a supporter of the North-South dialogue, and I believe that, without ending the arms race, it will not be possible to channel the huge amounts needed to bring to civilization and to the kind of living conditions worthy of any human being the two-thirds of mankind still suffering from hunger, underdevelopment, disease, and other easily eradicable ills. [end recording]

[Announcer] In conclusion, the Portuguese president stated:

[Begin recording] [Soares] I am very grateful for the opportunity to salute the Soviet people, a heroic people who acted to the benefit of all mankind during the last great war against Nazi barbarity. Those of us who were alive during World War II will never be able to forget the heroism of the Soviet people, and I would like here and now to salute the Soviet people as a whole and tell them of the hope with which we are witnessing the new course taken by Soviet policy in the form of perestroyka and glasnost. [end recording]

Voss Receives Deputies

PM261613 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, has met with Portuguese Assembly deputies accompanying Portuguese President M. Soares on his trip to the USSR.

The importance of further improving relations between the two states in various spheres, including strengthening of interparliamentary ties, was stressed during a friendly conversation.

The Portuguese parliamentarians showed interest in our country's life, in restructuring, and in the role and place in this process of the country's supreme organ of state power and the local soviets.

Soares Television Interview

LD270032 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1953 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Interview with Mario Soares, Portuguese President by Soviet television correspondent Igor Fesunenko in Moscow; date not specified; Soares speaking in Portuguese with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Fesunenko] Esteemed Mr President, the official, and obviously main part of your visit has been completed. Talks have been held with the Soviet leadership, important documents have been signed, and you have been received by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I would like to ask you, first of all, how you assess this part of the visit and how you assess the work you have been doing in Moscow.

[Soares] I believe this visit was qualitatively different compared with previous visits by Portuguese figures to the USSR. It has in fact opened a new page in the history of relations between the Soviet Union and Portugal. During the course of a number of recent years, these relations had become almost frozen, although in 1974 we reestablished diplomatic relations. They began very well, and I myself, at that time in the office of minister of foreign affairs, had the honor of signing an agreement on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations and other documents following from this.

But, as I have already said, of late our relations had become to a considerable extent frozen. Eventually, through reasons connected with development of the situation in both Portugal and the Soviet Union, I came to your country on a visit, accompanied by two representatives of the Portuguese Government and a delegation of business circles. Due to the talks held in Moscow, this visit, in my view, opened a new stage in relations

between our countries, in the most progressive sense of this word. Concrete results were obtained, important documents were signed, and accords were reached on further development of our relations, in particular on a visit by a delegation of the USSR Academy of Sciences to Portugal to establish more fruitful ties in the sphere of science and technology. The possibility was also discussed of sending to your country a delegation of our State Secretariat for Culture to discuss prospects for cultural exchange. One may mention that trade relations also began to develop.

Thus, it seems to me the prospects are very fruitful. All this, I repeat once again, shows that despite differences in sociopolitical systems, we can maintain perfectly normal relations between a country belonging to the West European world, Portugal, and a socialist country, the Soviet Union.

[Fesunenko] During your talks with the Soviet leadership, questions of disarmament occupied an important place. In a few days' time, as is known, the meeting will be held between Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the United States President Ronald Reagan, and a treaty on the liquidation of two classes of nuclear missiles will be signed.

The world is awaiting this meeting with great interest. I would like to know: What is Portugal's position on questions of nuclear disarmament?

[Soares] I do not hide the fact that I awaited the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with immense interest. I was not disappointed after our conversation, rather the opposite. Getting to know your leader made a great impression on me. I listened closely to him, saw and sensed the enthusiasm with which he spoke about problems of peace which are, of course, now the most important ones. I pay tribute to the strength of his convictions. I welcome, just as Portugal and the whole world welcome, the meeting opening on 7 December of this year in Washington between Gorbachev and Reagan. This will be an historic meeting. It marks a cardinal turning point and will lead to a further relaxation in the international situation. All the peace-loving peoples, and our people in particular, are in great need of this. Portugal follows very closely the development of the disarmament talks. As you know, we belong to the North Atlantic bloc, and naturally, via NATO, we obtain full information about these talks. We study them closely and welcome with enthusiasm all steps toward peace. We believe there is no sensible alternative to peace. We are convinced that a nuclear collision would be a tragic consequence for all mankind.

[Fesunenko] Does it not seem to you that at this key crossroads at which the world now finds itself, the time has come to pool efforts in the international context of communist parties, socialist, social-democrats and all other public forces for the struggle against the threat of a nuclear war?

[Soares] Yes, I think this is so. There is a need for a pooling together of efforts of all who support peace and for setting out on the path of serious peace talks, and attaching importance to ideological problems. Therefore, I would not begin to claim that only socialists, or communists, or other political forces should move in this direction. In my view, talks of such a nature should, first and foremost, be held at state level. In particular, the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States evoke the most interest in all countries of the European Community, to which our country belongs. Portugal is following the course of these talks with great interest and places great hopes on them.

We are convinced that the time has finally come when, before the end of this century, we should finally do away with nuclear weapons and open up new horizons of hope for all mankind. I have always been a supporter of a dialogue between the countries of North and South, and I think that without an end to the arms race, it is impossible to direct substantial sums to the needs of development of those two-thirds of mankind who are suffering from hunger, poverty, disease and other misfortunes. Let them rise to the level of present-day civilization, give them the chance to acquire conditions worthy of a civilized person.

[Fesunenko] Your country is linked by close bonds of economic cooperation, a well-known common cultural heritage and ancient traditions with a whole number of states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It would seem that concern for the destinies of these countries is in many ways similar for the Soviet Union and Portugal. I would like to remind one that our country is proposing to link together disarmament and development, and to direct funds released in the event of an end to the arms race—a part of these funds—toward assisting the developing states. I would like, first, to know what your country's attitude is to such proposals and, second, speaking specifically, to explain what Portugal's attitude is to the deadlock in which southern Africa has found itself as a result of the racist policy of the RSA regime.

[Soares] Your question in fact contains a number of questions. I will try to answer them. Indeed, Portugal, thanks to its history and its past, has the broadest ties with the whole world and fraternal relations with those countries who speak our language. In Latin America these are, naturally, Brazil, a country which is turning into a major world power. In Africa these are such countries as Angola and Mozambique, as well as a number of small countries: Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome i Principe, and the Cape Verde Republic. We have fraternal relations with all these countries, and this is indeed one of the priorities of our foreign policy—to develop and maintain all-round ties based on a common culture and language. Incidentally, 170 million people throughout the world today speak our language. This is a great number. Our Portuguese language is the third most spoken in Western Europe. In this respect, it is in front of

French, German and Italian. It occupies th. ; place behind English and Spanish. This one fact gives a fairly accurate picture of the importance of a Portuguese-speaking community.

Despite considerable financial difficulties which arose following the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, and in connection with the need to restructure our life once Portugal was deprived of its colonies, we had to restructure our economy in such a way that it was based only on its own resources. Despite these difficulties, we are making great efforts to render assistance to the African countries who speak our language.

A considerable part of our budget is directed toward these states' aid requirements. We will continue to do this.

On the other hand, it has to be borne in mind that we are, as it were, on the borderline between developed states and the underdeveloped countries. We are, after all, probably the poorest of the developed countries of Europe, and we have a good understanding of how dramatic the position is in the more underdeveloped countries—particularly in the Latin American states, which are afflicted by huge debts: Brazil, for instance. These states are virtually suffocating in the clutches of the international financial organizations. We raise our voice to change that unfair situation and so the debt problem of these countries, specifically, Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina, may be resolved through some ways and means that respect these countries' sovereignty and independence. But, I repeat once more, none of this can be resolved without an end to the arms race and without a serious North-South dialogue.

[Fesunenko] And the problem of South Africa?

[Soares] As for South Africa, which gives rise to one of today's bitterest regional conflicts, I would say that, on that point, we state quite unequivocally: We categorically oppose South Africa's policy of racism and apartheid. We always support all Security Council resolutions intended to eliminate that evil. We support resolutions on granting independence to Namibia and categorically condemn, as our foreign minister did once again quite recently, South Africa's intervention against Angola.

[Fesunenko] The final question concerns Portugal. Your country is the birthplace of the famous and legendary Revolution of the Carnations. I vididly remember the attention, interest, and ardent involvement with which all Soviet people followed development of the process started by the overthrow of the dictatorial regime in your country. It would be interesting to know how Portugal feels now, and how it has developed in all that time.

[Soares] First I would like to say that Portugal carried through that revolution quite peacefully. It was a noble revolution. It took place without bloodshed and also ended, I think, most favorably, for it led to establishment of a democratic regime, founded on the principles of pluralism, under which all voices in our society are equally heard and respected. Portugal has become the country that the Portuguese people wanted it to be. Through a whole series of electoral campaigns, which have been acknowledged by all parties to be fully democratic, and the legality of which no one has every disputed, the Portuguese people made decisions that they thought most suitable. It was in precisely in that way that we joined the West European Community, and we now wish to develop our economy and modernize our state structure. Needless to say, the path is not easy. I have spoken to Soviet leaders about it. They listened with interest to my account of Portugal's modernization and the difficulties we are encountering on the way. But, be that as it may, we are going forward. We have finished with colonial regimes. Today, we are a respected country. We have granted independence to five states. It would have been six were it not for the serious problems that have arisen over granting of independence to the people of East Timor, which have not yet been resolved. Those people have not been given the opportunity by Indonesia to voice its right to self-determination. I say once again: We respect the countries that have received their independence from us, and we, too, are ourselves a respected country, since we carry out the decisions of the United Nations.

We base our foreign policy on respect for other countries, on principles of noninterference in other states' internal affairs, and on principles of mutual benefit in international relations. Using precisely these principles as a basis, we wish to develop relations with the Soviet Union, with a country whose social and political regime differs from our own.

[Fesunenko] In conclusion, Mr President, allow me to thank you for this interview, through which millions of Soviet people have been able to see, hear, and understand so intimately the head of a friendly state. Permit me to wish you a successful conclusion to your visit and a pleasant homeward journey.

[Soares] I am very grateful for the opportunity given me to greet the Soviet people through the medium of television. Your people is a heroic people—one that made such great efforts for the good of all mankind in the struggle against fascism during the years of the Second World War. Those of us who were alive at that time will never forget the Soviet people's heroism in that war, and I should like once more to address words of greeting to Soviet people and to say that we look with very great hope on the Soviet leadership's new policy, which is expressed by the two words: perestroyka and glasnost.

[Fesunenko] Thank you very much, Mr President.

Zholkver Comments on Visit

LD252100 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Commentary by Political Observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text]] The broad international response to the results of the Soviet-Portuguese talks is graphic evidence of the fact that the visit of the Portuguese president to the USSR goes far beyond the framework of bilateral relations. After all, this visit is taking place in a very responsible, pivotal period in modern history. It is a question of which direction development will take in the world: Toward further build-up of lethal arsenals and creation of even more exotic types of weapons, threatening the very existence of mankind; or toward creation of an all-embracing international security system, through overcoming confrontations in interstate relations, on the basis of equal rights, and a balance of mutual interests.

Europe, with its great economic, cultural, and also military potential, is of primary significance in that choice of path. The Soviet Union—and this was stressed once again during the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Mario Soares—comes out consistently in favor of a growth in the role of Europe in world affairs, above all, in such an important matter as disarmament.

True, sometimes one hears that disarmament is allegedly a matter for major powers, and small countries, as it were, have no role in the matter. The Soviet-Portuguese talks refute that delusion. The Portuguese president expressed important ideas on questions of removing the threat of nuclear war and resolving the problem of disarmament, above all, nuclear disarmament. In that connection, he welcomed in particular the forthcoming signing of a Soviet-U.S. treaty on elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

I should add that now, after successful completion of the Geneva talks between Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, many leading figures of European states are making utterances in that spirit. The FRG foreign minister, on the territory of which, as is known, all the U.S. Pershings were sited [razmeshchemy], expressed special satisfaction with regard to the coming elimination of them.

But after all, this is all only the first step. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev informed Mario Soares about his readiness to resolve with President Reagan other issues, too, of reducing the nuclear threat, above all, the problem of reducing strategic weapons.

However, there is still another important problem: Elimination of suspiciousness, and stereotypes, in the form of the image of the enemy, which obstruct establishment of trust between states, including in Europe. In that respect, the visit of the Portuguese president, which culminated in the signing of important agreements on development of multilateral cooperation between the two countries, has also become a good example for strengthening peace and goodneighborliness in our common European home.

Portuguese Radio on Visit

LD261140 Lisbon International Service in Portuguese 0700 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Report by Radio Lisbon special correspondent Pedro Cid from Moscow]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The highlights of Mario Soares' stay in Moscow were his meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev and with academician, Nobel Prize winner, and Soviet dissident Andrey Sakharov. Sakharov told him that restructuring is an objective fact but may yet meet with much resistence. With regard to disarmament, he unhesitantly stated that the next and decisive step must be a 50% reduction in armaments. He also said that most prisoners of conscience have not yet been released from psychiatric hospitals and stressed that without initiatives, there can be no democracy.

It is also worth noting that Ferreira do Amaral [minister of trade and tourism] has struck several potentially good deals, even though satisfaction is somewht less than absolute among the Portuguese businessmen here. As one of them put it to me: It is all very well telling me that I can do business in Moscow, but how do I go about it if I will have no control over the shop I shall be opening here? How do I go about it with the Soviets demanding that 25% of what is sold by the shop must be (?reimports) when the raw material—cloth and fabrics in this instance—is of poor quality?

There are problems, therefore. Not everything has been roses during this visit. Nevertheless, there are concrete undertakings, such as Portugal's pledge to the USSR to purchase 4 million contos worth of crude oil and to open up the Portuguese market to Soviet motor cars. On the USSR's part, there is the undertaking to purchase Portuguese-made rail cars and additional foodstuffs. [passage omitted]

Departs for Yerevan

LD261002 Moscow TASS in English 0721 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Portuguese President Mario Soares staying in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, departed from Moscow for Yerevan today.

At the airport the president and his wife were seen off by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and his wife, Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Pol' buro of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice pr sident of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other officials.

Arrives in Yerevan

LD261123 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Yerevan November 26 TASS—President Mario Soares of Portugal arrived in Yerevan from Moscow today.

The president is in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Gorbachev To Visit Thatcher 7 Dec

'Brief Working Visit'

LD270741 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, will make a brief working visit to Britain on December 7 on his way to Washington for talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan, it has been confirmed at the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

During the visit Gorbachev will meet with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Gerasimov on UK Meeting

LD271006 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0857 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will meet Mrs Thatcher on his way to the Washington summit with President Reagan because he values her opinions, a top Soviet spokesman said today. The Soviet leader is expected to spend a few hours in Britain on December 7 to meet the prime minister, who has invited him to discuss arms control and other international issues.

Mr Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said today: "It will be an exchange of views. Mr Gorbachev values Mrs Thatcher's opinion. Mrs Thatcher is a leader of strong views. Mr Gorbachev is a leader of strong views. It will strengthen the position of both sides."

Mr Gerasimov, speaking on the BBC radio programme Today, said: "This shows that the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States—important as they are—are not the end of the story. We value our relations with other countries."

It is assumed that Mrs Thatcher issued the invitation in order to explain to Mr Gorbachev the priorities for arms control as seen by Britain and other Western European countries. It was felt that at the Reykjavik summit the President was on the verge of making commitments affecting Western Europe without consulting its leaders.

Labour leader Neil Kinnock has poured scorn on the planned meeting. He said last night: "If the talks are as productive as her visit to Moscow I think they are likely to have a cup of airline coffee at Heathrow. But I presume it will be a little bit longer than that."

Foreign Office Minister Mr David Mellor rounded on this remark today, saying it was a "juvenile mistake". Mr Mellor, speaking on BBC TV Breakfast Time, said: "Mr Kinnock always wants to ridicule instead of saying that it is a good thing. It is not the duty of an opposition to oppose the whole time."

He described the meeting as a "significant move", adding: "It is a sign of better relations between Britain and the Soviet Union. More leading Soviet politicians are coming to Britain and I hope that Mrs Thatcher, who is known to Mr Gorbachev as a firm leader, will be able to make real progress with him.

"Everybody in Britain, whether Labour, Conservative or Alliance, should applaud the fact that Mr Gorbachev and Mrs Thatcher are going to meet."

Political Scene for Turkish Elections Viewed

PM261524 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov report: "Turkey: Approaching the Meclisi Elections"]

[Text] Ankara, November—On 29 November, the citizens of Turkey are to elect 450 deputies to the Meclisi (parliament). An intensive election campaign has been launched in the country. The city streets are bright with flags bearing emblems and portraits of the leaders of political parties, posters, and slogans. Sharp polemics are developing at rallies and meetings and flaring up in the newspapers and on television.

The "heavy artillery" has also joined in the election campaign—the leaders of the main political parties represented in the old Meclisi: T. Ozal, prime minister and chairman of the ruling Motherland Party (ANAP); E. Inonu, leader of the main opposition Social Democratic Populist Party (SDPP); S. Demirel, head of the Correct Way Party (CWP); and B. Ecevit, chairman of the Democratic Left Party (DLP). The last two are former prime ministers.

The local press notes two characteristic features of the forthcoming elections. First, they are taking place in conditions of a process of gradual restoration of democratic freedoms and lifting of various political bans and restrictions imposed by the authorities (after the 1980 military coup). An important stage in this process was the referendum held in September, at which the question

was posed whether to allow the 10-year ban on participation in political life by people from parties of the period before the military coup to remain in force, or to lift it. The ban was lifted, albeit by only a small majority of votes.

Second, the initiative for holding extraordinary parliamentary elections came from ANAP, which expresses the interests of the Turkish haute bourgeoisie, which has links with international capital. This party seeks to hold onto power for another 5 years by using means at its disposal: its position as ruling party, powerful financial support from big capital, and virtually sole control of television.

With the support of a firm majority in parliament, ANAP adopted a new election law highly favorable to itself. Under this law, a party obtaining only 35% of the votes may have an overall majority of seats in parliament, while a party collecting less than 10% of votes nationally will not receive a single deputy's seat. By forcing through the early elections, ANAP hopes to forestall the development of events and prevent growing dissatisfaction in the country with the social consequences of its course of economic liberalization from taking concrete political forms undesirable from its viewpoint. In other words, ANAP does not want to give its rivals—the SDPP and the partlies led by S. Demirel and B. Ecevit, who are experienced and popular figures in the country—the opportunity to take advantage of that dissatisfaction.

What baggage, what programs are the main parties taking into the elections?

ANAP, which is carrying out a reorientation of the Turkish economy away from statism, with the emphasis primarily on the state sector, toward a free market economy, claims that it offers the country political stability and rapid economic progress. It brandishes these figures: In 4 years, Turkish exports have come close to 9 billion dollars a year, and 80% of it is now industrial output. The average rate of economic growth remains at a level of approximately 6%.

The opposition parties are virtually unanimous in their criticism of ANAP's track record. They point out that in 4 years, inflation has amounted to some 170%, there are now 4 million unemployed in the country, and the working people's real income, compared with the end of the seventies, has fallen by almost one-half. Turkey's foreign debt is nearing 40 billion dollars....

The opposition parties accuse the government of interpreting democracy exclusively in its own interests and retarding the process of restoration of full political and trade union freedoms. However, with the exception of the SDPP, these parties offer virtually nothing substantial instead of the liberalization policy.

The SDPP's platform provides for a general amnesty for political prisoners and complete lifting of bans and restrictions on foreign policy life, including bans on the activity of the Communist Party and progressive trade unions, and retention of the state sector's decisive role in the economy, and puts forward a number of social programs.

At present, public opinion polls give preference to ANAP. A major role is played here by its leadership's sophisticated tactics and skillfull utilization of the mass media and various promises to voters.

At the same time, the Social Democrats' forces are split between the SDPP and the DLP, and under the new electoral law that plays into the hands of ANAP.

As is known, this month H. Kutlu, general secretary of the Turkish Communist Party Central Committee, and N. Sargyn [as published], general secretary of the Workers Party, arrived in the country from exile, to seek formation of a legal United Communist Party. It has already been reported that the authorities immediately arrested them and are continuing to interrogate them intensively. This has aroused protests in the world, and also within Turkey. Statements from the SDPP leadership and commentaries in the democratic press say that it is necessary to revise articles of the criminal code banning the activity of the Communist Party and Marxist propaganda, since true democracy in Turkey is impossible without legalizing the Communist Party. These statements and press materials stress that Turkish Communists, who for decades have been deprived of the opportunit, openly to express their views in their homeland and have been accused, without substantiation, of terrorism and subversive activity, should take their proper place in political life among the country's other parties.

Parties Issue Joint Statement

PM251225 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Demanding the Patriots' Release"]

[Text] Ankara, 23 Nov—The newspaper *Sez* [name as published] writes that a joint statement by the Turkish Communist Party and Workers Party Central Committees points out that Haydar Kutlu and Nikhat Sargyn [name as published], the recently arrested leaders of these parties, "are being pressured in the course of the inquiry"—which is contrary to the law and the concept of humanity.

The statement emphasizes that the two general secretaries' return to the motherland is "an example of civic courage and selflessness." The central committees of both parties have demanded that the arrestees be permitted to meet with their attorneys.

French Elements Seek To Reverse Arms Accord

LD252309 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—TASS News Analyst Yevgeniy Babenko writes:

"Disarmament: Green Light for the Summit Meeting", "The Treaty on Euro-Missiles Elimination Is Highly Important", under such headings today's French newspapers published reports on the finalizing in Geneva of the draft treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. There are grounds to surmise that the tone of these publications reflects the benevolent attitude of the French public to the signing of the Soviet-American treaty to take place in Washington in December and to the very treaty.

It would seem it could not be otherwise. For there is an opportunity for the first time to take the safe and reliable road of the elimination of nuclear weapons, starting with two classes of such weapons. The success of the talks held, naturally, gives rise to new hopes in Europe and the whole world that the problems of strategic and space arms will be resolved.

The events of the recent past show convincingly that the programme of the elimination of nuclear arsenals by the year 2000 advanced by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev is not at all a utopia but a feasible aim. Presidential Candidate from the French Communist Party Andre Lajoinie said at a meeting in Blois. The optimum route of the advance to a nuclear-weapons free and non-violent world is embarked upon.

Regrettably, there are forces in the world that seek to reverse this complex process: toward arming, additional arming, rearming... There is a multitude of terms, but they all essentially mean returning to the old track, to the resumption of the insane nuclear arms race leading to universal catastrophy.

There exist such forces also in France, the country that has done much for European detente in the past. The discussion of the military budget for 1988 in the French Senate shows that Paris plans to increase substantially the expenditures for military needs. Addressing senators, Defence Minister Andre Giraud said that the government intends to preserve and largely modernize its own strategic nuclear forces and to continue upgrading conventional armaments.

The defence ministry is virtually the only ministry in France to which austerity measures of the Chirac cabinet do not apply. Closing all windows and doors to information about the talks on disarmament, the defence ministry is stubbornly preparing for war. Next year the French military budget will reach an enormous sum of over 176 billion francs.

This suggests various thoughts. The coming initial step in the area of nuclear disarmament is called upon, as is known, to set the beginning to the process of universal disarmament. Meanwhile the forces trying to reverse the course, namely to achieve the deployment of new nuclear arms as a "compensation" for the U.S. missiles that are to be eliminated in Europe, became active on both sides of the Atlantic.

Simple logic indicates that the treaty does not mean unilateral disarmament of the West, and that hundreds of nuclear warheads will be eliminated not for the purpose of one of the sides "compensating" for the lost might, replacing it with a new, modernized force. Otherwise real nuclear disarmament which is in the offing would be emasculated, would become pointless. Is this what exponents of reverse motion wish to achieve?

Latin America & Caribbean

More on Soviet Delegation in Latin America

Meet Nicaragua's Nunez 23 Nov

PM251543 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Managua, 24 Nov—The visit to Nicaragua by a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is continuing.

On Monday the delegation was received by Carlos Nunez, president of Nicaragua's National Assembly. He told the Soviet deputies about the complex internal situation, stressing that despite U.S. imperialism's continuing aggression, the national reconciliation process in Nicaragua is proceeding in accordance with the Guatemala accords. The president of the National Assembly noted that, without the economic and moral support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the help of Latin American states and all progressive forces of the world, Nicaragua would find it very difficult to resist intervention by U.S. mercenaries and to resolve tasks of rebuilding the war-ravaged economy and carrying out social transformations in the working people's interests.

The leader of the group of Soviet parliamentarians in his turn informed Nicaraguan National Assembly deputies about the progress of restructuring in the USSR, which is aimed at broadening democracy and reforming management of the national economy. He also drew the Nicaraguan side's attention to the Soviet leadership's recent peace initiatives.

On the same day, the Soviet parliamentarians met with Mauricio Diaz, deputy president of the National Assembly and member of the Commission for National Reconciliation representing opposition parties. He told the guests about the course of political dialogue between the government and opposition parties.

The Soviet delegation met with Victor Hugo Tinoco, Nicaraguan first deputy foreign minister, who gave a detailed report on the republic's complex foreign political situation and the U.S. Administration's attempts to wreck the Guatemala accords and isolate the Sandinist Revolution. He emphasized the need to pool the efforts of the region's states with the aim of overcoming the crisis.

The Soviet parliamentary group leader expressed Soviet people's solidarity with the Nicaraguan people's struggle against U.S. aggression and stressed the Soviet Government's unfailing support for the peace accords reached by the Central American peoples.

Received by Ortega 24 Nov

LD251523 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Managua, 25 Nov (TASS)—On Tuesday, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega received a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by Georgiy Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is here on a visit.

An exchange of opinions took place on Central American issues and the search for ways of settlement in the region in accordance with the Guatemalan peace accords. It was stressed that the aggressive policy of the U.S. Administration, which is trying to boycott peacemaking efforts by the peoples of the region and to frustrate implementation of peace accords, stood in the way of fulfilling the accords. Washington's official position meets with condemnation by the public of various countries, including the United States itself, which is growing daily. At the same time, the Nicaraguan Government, strictly adhering to the Guatemalan accords, scores significant political victories and is ahead of other countries of the region in terms of their implementation.

Daniel Ortega briefed the visitors on the situation at home in Nicaragua, the progress of the national reconciliation process, and the political dialogue conducted by the republic's government with opposition parties, which was initiated in line with the Guatemala accords.

The Nicaraguan leader expressed gratitude for the selfless aid to the Soviet Union and solidarity with the Nicaraguan people in its struggle against imperialist aggression. He highly assessed the peaceloving foreign policy of the Soviet state and peaceful initiatives of the USSR directed at stopping the arms race, detente, and elimination of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The problems of the developing countries' huge foreign debt and of overcoming the acute economic crisis that they are undergoing were also dwelt upon at the meeting.

On the same day, a meeting of the Soviet parliamentarians with members of the Foreign Affairs Commission of Nicaragua's National Assembly took place, where a wide range of subjects associated with international politics, problems of human survival in conditions of the arms race forced by imperialism, and the struggle of the USSR and other socialist countries for peace and security on the planet, was discussed.

On Tuesday, the group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies left for Costa Rica.

Arrive in Costa Rica 24 Nov

LD260131 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] San Jose, 25 Nov (TASS)—A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies touring a number of Latin American countries arrived here on Tuesday. In a statement for the press, Georgiy Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is heading the group of deputies, emphasized that at this time, which is worrisome and crucial for the world's destiny, contacts between parliamentarians of different countries gain a particular significance, since dialogue and political agreements are the sole possible way of overcoming international tension and eliminating the danger of nuclear catastrophe. He advocated further fruitful development of interparliamentary ties between the USSR and Costa Rica in the interests of strengthening peace, friendship, and mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries.

CPSU Greets Mexican Socialist Party Congress

PM251217 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to First Mexican Socialist Party Congress]

[Text] To the First Mexican Socialist Party Congress:

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee ardently greets the delegates to the First Mexican Socialist Party Congress.

Your congress is a reflection of an important stage in the development of the workers and socialist movement in Mexico, a stage distinguished by a growing tendency toward the rallying of forces that consistently advocate democracy, national sovereignty, socialism, and the working people's vital interests. Mexican Socialists link their actions in promotion of these lofty ideals with the struggle against imperialism's interventionist and neoglobalist policy. Your solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, and the peoples in other Latin American countries,

upholding their freedom and independence and their right to independently determine their destiny and path of development, is well known.

Broad collaboration among peaceloving forces striving to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe is taking shape in the contemporary world. People in the USSR perceive with gratification Mexico's constructive contribution to this noble cause and its positive attitude toward the Soviet proposals aimed at building an all-embracing system of international security, disarmament for the sake of development, and untangling of regional conflicts. We value assertive development of Soviet-Mexican relations and strengthening of all-around cooperation between our countries.

The CPSU highly values the support of the Mexican Socialist Party and the Mexican public for our party's line of creating a nuclear-free and nonviolent world on the basis of new thinking founded on the realities of the present, when we are talking about preservation of life on earth. Such an approach toward questions of war and peace is organically linked with the CPSU's course of fully revealing the potential and advantages of the socialist society. The meaning of the revolutionary renewal and transformations being effected in the USSR is expressed by the formula: "More democracy, more socialism." In the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October, Soviet people are unanimous in their support for the policy of restructuring, glasnost, and acceleration of our society's economic, social, and spiritual development.

We send best wishes to the Mexican Socialist Party in its struggle for the unity of left-wing forces, the expansion of their influence among the masses, and social progress and peace on our planet.

Long live the friendship between the CPSU and the Mexican Socialist Party and between the Soviet and Mexican peoples!

The CPSU Central Committee

RSFSR's Orlov Received by Cuban Officials

LD261724 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0950 GMT 26 Nov

[Text] Havana, 26 Nov (TASS)—Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], vice president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, has received Vladimir Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium who is visiting Cuba at the invitation of the National Assembly of the People's Government.

During a conversation, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere, the sides exchanged information on the socioeconomic development of the two countries and activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the National Assembly of the People's government. Various aspects of Cuban-Soviet cooperation were alao examined. Taking part in the meeting were Severo Aguirre delCristo, vice president of the National Assembly of the People's Government, and other officials.

On the same day [as received] Vladimir Orlov held talks with Cuban Foreign Minister Isodoro Malmierca, during which the sides discussed Cuban-Soviet relations as well as questions of the international situation associated primarily with the situation in southern Africa and in Central America.

CPSU Delegation Returns From Uruguay

PM271335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS Report Under The General Heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by M. Gabdulin, chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee journal *Agitator*, returned to Moscow on 25 November. The delegation had taken part in the work of the Uruguayan socialist party congress.

Political & Social

CPSU Politburo Approves Economic Proposals

LD262203 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At a meeting on 26 November, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee considered and basically approved the government's proposals on restructuring the system for increasing the qualifications and retraining of leading officials and specialists of the national economy, taking into account the economic reform which is under way, new management methods, and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The setting up on a new basis of an integrated state system for increasing the qualifications of cadres, and all industrial branches converting from periodic to continuous training of leading officials and specialists during the 12th 5-Year Plan is envisaged. Differentiated forms and methods of their retraining are being established. The results of their increasing their qualifications will be taken into account in appraising officials. The further development of the network of educational establishments and the setting up of interindustry institutes for increasing qualifications, and of special faculties and departments attached to higher educational establishments and technical colleges is envisaged; and measures have been decided on to improve the organizational and methodical guidance for educational establishments—within the system for increasing cadres' qualifications and retraining them—and to strengthen their material base.

The Central Committee Politburo discussed the conversion of agricultural, industrial, and other enterprises and organisations within the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee system to full financial autonomy and self-financing in 1988-1989. A complex of measures is envisaged to enhance efficiency in the agroindustrial sector, which are designed to insure a more balanced development of all its branches, to further integrate agriculture with the processing industry, to improve economic methods of production, and to increase economic efficiency. Party committees have been instructed to step up their organizational and political work to accelerate the economic reform of the agroindustrial system, to genuinely involve the broad masses of working people in carrying it out, and—in order to stimulate the activity of labor collectives—to make fuller use of financial autonomy, of team and family contracts and other progressive forms of organizing and providing work incentives.

The Politburo endorsed the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's conversation and Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko's talks with Mario Soares, president of the Republic of Portugal, which were significant events in relations between the Soviet Union and present-day Portugal. The meetings and talks that took place gave fresh impetus to the development of Soviet-Portuguese relations and contacts in various fields, and to the deepening of mutual understanding between the two countries over fundamental international issues.

Stress was laid on the importance of expanding the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and Portugal, aimed at helping to lead the world out of the state of confrontation and onto the road of cooperation, at improving the situation in Europe, at lowering the level of military confrontation, and at strengthening the climate of detente and trust.

The Politburo considered and approved the results of the official friendly visit to India by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, who took part in the opening ceremony of the Festival of the USSR in that country. During conversations with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, mutual satisfaction was expressed with the high level of development of Soviet-Indian relations, as well as with efforts to further broaden and improve the two countries' cooperation in the interests of consolidating peace and international security on the basis of the Delhi Declaration on the principles for a nonviolent world free of nuclear weapons.

The need was confirmed for continuing to strengthen and broaden trade and economic ties, upgrade and deepen cooperation in new ways such as industrial coproduction and specialization, the creation of joint ventures, and the establishment of direct links between Soviet and Indian organizations and enterprises. It was noted that the Festival of the Soviet Union in India and the Festival of India in the USSR had helped to broaden contacts between the peoples of the two countries and to promote mutual spiritual enrichment.

The Politburo approved the results of Eduard Amrosiyevich Shevardnadze's talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Geneva on 23-24 November, at which the process of reaching agreement on the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles was completed. Thus, the treaty is ready for signing at the coming meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. One of the most important accords reached at the Reykjavik talks between the top leaders of the USSR and the United States has thus been realized and an important step is being taken along the road to a nuclear-weapon-free world.

It was noted with satisfaction that the Geneva talks had made it possible to reach understanding on a number of items on the agenda of the coming talks in Washington. The work carried out at the Geneva meeting was recognized as useful and necessary.

The session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered several other questions of our country's foreign policy and economic and social development.

Zaykov Speech Lists Moscow's Rayon Problems

PM251229 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Concern for People—in the Forefront of Restructuring. Seminar of Party Raykom First Secretaries"]

[Text] Ways of restructuring work with the population at their places of residence, the city's preparedness for the winter, the organization of new year trade, the entire complex range of questions connected with improving the Muscovites' working, living, and leisure conditions—those were the topics at a seminar of first secretaries of Moscow party raykoms held 20-21 November. They discussed not only how to organize educational and mass cultural work in the residential districts, but first and foremost the ways of involving all inhabitants in the imposition of order, the smooth organization of leisure, and true people's control of the activities of municipal, trade, and other services.

Taking part in the seminar were secretaries and section chiefs of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and leaders of Moscow Gorispolkom, the city trade unions' council, and the Komsomol gorkom.

Opening the seminar, L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, said:

Today's seminar is a continuation of our discussion at the 18 November party gorkom bureau session. Most of you attended it. Many practical suggestions were made, and quite a few specific questions were raised as regards the improvement of all our work. It was somewhat disconcerting to learn of your dissatisfaction because you—I mean the rayon level link—do not feel independent enough in your work.

I would like to repeat what we agreed at the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau session: Party raykoms and rayispolkoms will enjoy full independence and initiative in actions to implement the course elaborated by the Central Committee April Plenum and the 27th party congress. The raykom and rayispolkom bear full responsibility for their rayon's life. This does not, of course, mean that the party gorkom and the Moscow Gorispolkom will no longer help you. But you, raykom first secretaries and rayispolkom chairmen, will bear full responsibility for your rayons' affairs.

A very crucial and difficult stage of the restructuring has begun—the stage of putting our intentions into practice, fusing our conception with life, and resolving two interconnected and interdependent tasks: the further democratization of society and the implementation of a radical economic reform. Here the most important thing is to involve the broad masses of people in this work. Without them, we cannot restructure anything, because in our country everything is done by the people and for the people's benefit. This gives rise to the conclusions by which we party workers must be guided in practice.

We rightly talk a lot about increasing the role and expanding the rights of the soviets of people's deputies as regards the socioeconomic development of their territories. But in this context we often make a crucial error by taking the soviets to mean only their ispolkoms. That is fundamentally wrong. In Moscow there are more than 10,000 city and rayon soviet deputies. That is a real potential, a real force. But let us admit frankly that we are uncovering this potential only feebly. This is why it would be interesting to have the seminar discuss the question of fully mobilizing the initiative of the people's elected representatives in the work with the population and the solution of practical tasks.

Unless Muscovites feel a real improvement in matters in the social sphere, it will be hard for us to rouse them to tackle new, even more complex tasks. The cause and results must come first. Today everyone must give more in their work, devoting the maximum attention to satisfying people's requirements in everyday life and consistently and persistently tackling unresolved questions. And there are still plenty of these.

The whole spectrum of social problems, the fulfilling of the people's needs, held an important place, as you know, in M.S. Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, and is at the center of the party's attention today.

It is no secret that formerly we often failed to devote sufficient attention to this area of work and placed the main emphasis on developing production. But boosting the economy depends above all on people, on their standard of education, culture, and receptiveness toward what is new and advanced.

Concern for Muscovites—that, today, is the front line in our struggle for restructuring in the city. This was also stated at the 11 November party gorkom plenum.

As you know, the party Central Committee and the government have adopted a series of major decisions aimed at developing the city's economy, social sphere, and culture. It is our common task now to ensure that everything planned is put into practice, that the Muscovites sense changes for the better, and that step by step concrete problems are tackled and matters of housing, transportation, and trade are rectified.

It is well-known that life itself is the best teacher. When there is order on the streets, a wide choice of goods in the stores, and warmth at home, then people's mood is better and they work better.

Therefore, questions of improving housing, municipal, medical, consumer, and trade services are very important party questions. They require the pooling of efforts

by city organizations, industrial enterprises, and culture and public education organs, with the most active participation of the working people and the entire population. This is still a bottleneck in the activity of most party raykoms and rayispolkoms. What we need is a new approach to organizing the management of this entire process. Party and soviet workers must be thoroughly familiar with the local situation, must be acutely aware of where their help is needed, and must be able to react to the people's demands specifically and with professional efficiency.

The increasingly complex tasks of our assertive movement make new demands of the party, its organizations and organs, and its cadres. The price of the work we are doing and the extent of our responsibility for the success of restructuring are high.

The main point here is to deepen the processes of renewal and boost the social activeness of all Muscovites. This ought to be the yardstick for measuring the attributes and shortcomings of our cadres. Most of them have found their position in restructuring and are persistently mastering the political methods of leadership in the economy, the social sphere, and education. They are skillfully organizing smooth work by primary party organizations, labor collective councils, trade unions, the Komsomol, women's councils, party, war, and labor veterans' councils, and other social organizations. Some people are still not always successful, and the effects of the habit of administrative-command style can still be felt. Such workers must be corrected and they must be helped in their mental restructuring. All this is directly connected with our seminar's subject.

Muscovites in most rayons do not play a sufficient part in the movement for thrifty stewardship of the housing stock, maintenance of public law and order, and organization of leisure. Only an insignificant proportion of the population's social groups are represented on organs of self-management. Many of them have done virtually nothing so far. Educational work is still conducted in a vague and general manner. In fact, the effect of this is felt least of all by problem adolescents, hapless families, drunkards, and criminals, in other words those who are most in need of social influence.

It is well-known that several rayons are making attempts to restructure educational work among the population. A certain amount of positive experience has been accumulated in Zelenogradskiy, Kalininskiy, Kiyevskiy, Sevastopolskiy, Perovskiy, Kirovskiy, and Voroshilovskiy Rayons. Other rayons have also made interesting achievements.

Today's seminar is being held in Gagarinskiy Rayon. This is one of the rayons in the so-called second belt where vast housing developments are located, inhabited by tens of thousands of residents. There are no major labor collectives here.

You will have an opportunity to see for yourselves what has already been done in Gagarinskiy Rayon, to exchange opinions, and to ask each other questions in light of the discussion which took place at the 11 November plenum and the gorkom bureau session. I think that it would be appropriate if, on the basis of the seminar's results, we were to examine and approve at a party gorkom bureau session an expanded program for pooling the efforts of party and soviet organs, social organizations, and economic leaders in work with the population.

The participants in the seminar familiarized themselves with the organization of educational work at places of residence and visited sociocultural facilities in Gagarinskiy Rayon, met party organization secretaries, representatives of local self-management organs, and members of the social and ideological aktiv, and exchanged opinions on the forms and methods for boosting the population's social activeness. Measures were planned to restructure mass political work and to improve the population's leisure and their participation in socially beneficial labor at places of residence taking the interests of various social groups into account.

Together with a group of participants in the seminar, L.N. Zaykov visited a food store and a branch of the "Moskva" department store, the No 21 buildings operation office of the Gagarinskiy PZHRO [expansion unknown], a computer games complex for preschool children, the "Zvezda" amateur creative work club, the "Elektronika" economic accountability information center, and the Southwest studio theater.

In lively, frank discussions the Muscovites actively supported the party's line on restructuring, the expansion of glasnost, and constant consideration for public opinion. Wishes were voiced for a further increase in the responsibility of leaders of party and soviet organs for the full satisfaction of people's urgent needs and the strengthening of discipline and organization. Questions of the uninterrupted supply of fruit, vegetable, meat, and dairy produce and the quality of many types of consumer goods were raised urgently. Examples of bureaucratic or callous attitudes, extravagance, and inattention to the population's aspirations and needs were cited.

Answering numerous questions from Muscovites, L.N. Zaykov stressed that we can no longer operate in the old way. All the people must be involved in the restructuring, and the role of workers' control must be strengthened and, basically, revived. It is necessary to involve young people and our veterans more boldly in this matter, and, most importantly, to seek to tackle all questions on the spot. The Muscovites rightly said here that it can hardly be tolerable for them to have to complain about the poor quality of bread or the poor range of goods and food products, even when available at the bases, to city or even central organizations. Where, one wonders, is the rayispolkom, with its numerous

services, and, of course, the party raykom? Naturally, there are a number of questions which do have to be resolved at Moscow City Soviet or the ministries.

L.N. Zaykov spoke of the great attention that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government devote to Moscow's development and of specific measures being taken to improve all aspects of the city's multifaceted life. The party gorkom, he stressed, will deal strictly with those who are responsible for satisfying the growing needs of the capital's working people. And in pursuing this line we will constantly consult with the Muscovites and develop glasnost in resolving all problems of Moscow's socioeconomic development.

Shcherbitskiy Attends Kiev Party Meetings
AU251321 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Nov 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "An Important Stage of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] In the republic, discussions have begun on the accountability reports delivered by elective party organs on their work in control over restructuring. Plenums and party meetings are being held in a well-organized manner, in an atmosphere of exactingness, criticism, and self-criticism. Accountability reports have already been delivered by 11 gorkom and raykom bureaus, as well as by the committees and bureaus of more than 18,000 basic and shop party organizations.

In the progress of preparations for this important political campaign, many party committees asked the working people, through the newspapers, to share their views, and to express their remarks about the activity of obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. Kiev Gorkom has sent a special questionnaire to party organizations. Party committees are familiarizing the Communists in advance with the theses of their accountability reports, and with draft resolutions. Members of party committees have been widely engaged in elaborating these. [passage omitted]

The following members and candidate members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo attended and addressed the party meetings: V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at the V. I. Lenin "Arsenal" plant in Kiev, and at the V. M. Glushkov Cybernetics Institute under the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; V. S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, at the Volodarskiy poultry farm in Volnovakhskiy Rayon, Donetsk Oblast; B. V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, at the "Svet Shakhtera" plant in Kharkov; V. P. Mironov, Donetsk Obkom first secretary, at the "Poltavskaya" mine under the "Ordzhonikidzeugol" production association in Yenakiyevo; V. A. Sologub, Ukrainian Trade Unions Council chairman, at Ilich kolkhoz in Bakhchisarayskiy Rayon, Crimean Oblast; S. I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, at the "Zhdanovtyazhmash" production association; and V. A. Ivashko, Dnepropetrovsk Obkom first secretary, at the heat relay networks enterprise in Novomoskovsk. Yu. N. Yelchenko, I. A. Mozgovoy, and V. D. Kryuchkov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretaries, visited labor collectives in Kiev city and Cherkassy Oblast, spoke with workers, kolkhoz peasants, functionaries, party, trade union, and Komsomol aktivists, and assisted elective party organs in preparing their accountability reports.

The results of the first plenums and meetings have shown party committees the need to pay even more attention to the entire work connected with holding those plenums and meetings. It is essential to ensure that through deeds they mark an important stage in preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Holds Session
LD251928 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] A session of the Kazakh SSR Sureme Soviet was held in Alma-Ata today. The plan and budget of the republic were endorsed for 1988. The fulfillment of the plan this year and the implementation of the budget last year were examined.

A turn toward intensive factors of development, which has begun, the deputies said, has allowed for the resolution of a number of urgent matters on restructuring in the social sphere to be substantially accelerated. The annual plan for housing construction has been fulfilled ahead of schedule. More schools, pre-school establishments, and health care buildings have been handed over for use than last year. The supply of foodstuffs to the population has improved.

However, the rate and scope of transformations are still far from meeting demands. Not a single oblast fulfilled the planned targets for the introduction of new technology. In industry basic funds are still not being used efficiently enough. There are interruptions of contractual obligations. The quality of output is improving at a slow rate. Because of poor management methods, a tangible shortage of livestock farming produce and field-crop cultivation produce is being allowed.

While planning ways of removing the serious miscalculations and omissions, the deputies paid particular attention to measures providing for a large-scale transfer of enterprises and associations to complete financial autonomy and self-financing, and also to the transfer of equipment to a multi-shift work pattern, and strengthening the integration of science and production.

The deputies exchanged views on the fulfilment of the voters' mandates. A decision was unanimously adopted on the election of deputy kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, to the post of member of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Discussion of Benefits for Afghan Vets

PM261545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 87 Second Edition p 6

[Feature by special correspondents A. Simurov and P. Studenkin under the rubric "Returning to an Earlier Publication": "Your Heart Feels No Gratitude..."; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The editorial office received over 1,000 replies to the articles "In the Hour of Trial" (4 April 1987) and "I Didn't Send You to Afghanistan..." (5 August 1987). And the letters keep coming in. Soviet people are deeply perturbed by the "Afghan" problem. Many readers ask with anguish and alarm when the war in Afghanistan will end. They write with indignation and resentment about the arrogance and indifference shown by officials toward the needs of servicemen returning from the DRA. They demand that such persons be dismissed from office, and that any measures that are taken be reported publicly.

Just as before, the letters contain numerous complaints—now from the families of those who have died or the wives of those who served in the DRA. Such letters from RSFSR and Ukrainian cities are particularly numerous. Far fewer from Belorussia. We thought to ourselves: Obviously, these problems are not as acute there. This is why we decided to ask V.I. Boris, chief of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational-Party Work Department, who himself has worked in Afghanistan and has been awarded the Order of the Labor Red Banner, and V.G. Yeftukh, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, to answers the readers' letters.

[Correspondents] The first letter is from Afghanistan. Private M. Plavinskiy writes: "It seems to me that the article 'I Didn't Send You to Afghanistan' should never have been published. It embittered many people. The guys started thinking: What will happen to me, how will the motherland welcome me? Let's be blunt, no woman would be interested in a cripple, he is not likely to turn into a highly skilled expert, he'll find it hard to become a leading production worker, and this means that he won't get an apartment—and the outcome is that no one but your mother, overwhelmed by sadness, will be interested in you."

What can you tell the soldier in reply?

V. Boris: We must speak forthrightly and frankly about the problems our servicemen will have to encounter after Afghanistan. After all, this means mainly that the motherland and the people are not indifferent to their fate.... But we must also speak just as forthrightly and frankly about the concern being shown for them. Haven't you heard about Petr Petrashevich from the Belorussian village of Borovtsy? You haven't?

Petr served in Afghanistan as operator-gunner on an armored personnel carrier. They were ambushed. Petr was seriously wounded in that battle and lost a leg. Missing a leg at the age of 20... He received a letter while still in the Army: "Come back. A new T-150 tractor is waiting for you...." But the invalid had to be offered an easier job—movie projectionist. But his dream was to grow grain. And would you believe it, now Petr is again driving a tractor.

Of course, a lot depended on him himself, but I can't help thinking: Would he have been able to make his dream come true without people's help? This soldier was not left to face his misfortune on his own. Komsomol members from the Minsk Tractor Plant built a special hand-controlled vehicle for him—and they called it "Petya's tractor." Experts on the labor capacity of invalids and the organization of their labor at the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute did not hesitate to conclude: He can operate the tractor.... The kolkhoz allocated a well-appointed three-room apartment for his family.... And the man himself remained in the ranks: Not in the rear services but, one could say, in the actual front line.

No, it is not only mothers and relatives who are interested in the guys who have graduated from the combat school of Afghanistan. They passed the trials with honor, tempered their characters and will, and have a keen sense of honor, justice, and, finally, courage. And we are doing everything to ensure that these people play a fitting part in the revolutionary restructuring that is taking place in our country. Every single person is precious for us. At present we are actively involving them in work in the organs of Soviet power and the Komsomol on the military-patriotic education of young people and their preparation for military service. In Gomel Oblast, for example, 627 former internationalist servicemen are involved in work with young people: 39 as young pioneer leaders and 92 as educators of problem adolescents; 6 have been elected to party gorkom and raykom membership, 27 have been elected members of Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms, while Yevgeniy Kalamakin, who was awarded two combat orders, was elected member of the [Belorussian] Komsomol Central Committee Bureau....

The question of concern calls for special mention. We are convinced: If you promptly show concern for someone he will be capable of climbing mountains. Without wishing to appear immodest, I'd like to say this: There are no problems on this account in Belorussia. Here we keep an eye on every single internationalist serviceman. As of today, there are only 16 families of dead servicemen and 38 invalids who are still waiting for an apartment. They will soon be housed. Invalids are promptly

supplied with artificial limbs and vehicles and are allocated travel vouchers for sanatoriums. There are four hospitals and two hospital departments offering in-patient medical services for invalids in the republic....

But practical experience shows that people are most frequently offended not by the fact that they cannot obtain, for example, an apartment or a vehicle on first application, but by the indifference and lack of elementary human warmth and attention. We hold party and soviet leaders and officials from military commissariats and social security organs most strictly accountable on this point. We are striving not to allow even a single such instance....

[Correspondents] By the way, N. Afanasyev, who recently returned from Afghanistan, asks: "What benefits am I entitled to? I went to the plant's legal department and was told that this is a classified matter. I asked the military commissariat to inform me of my right to benefits, and again I was told nothing.... So you run around, get ordered about, come up against indifference, and your heart feels no gratitude for the concern shown for us by the state...."

[Boris] This is obviously what has happened here: Each republic prepares its own document on benefits. Furthermore, the Ministry of Defense issues its recommendations on the provision of benefits, which are the guidelines for military commissariats. But surely they cannot be classified actually for those who are directly concerned? There must be some misunderstanding. Why should the concern shown by the motherland for its sons be kept under lock and key?

[Correspondents] Aleksey Skrobko from Grodno wrote to *Pravda* for help. He and the six other members of his family live in an area of 14 square meters in a shack, and to quote him, "in a dilapidated house in conditions that are unfit for humans—the electricity is often cut off, no gas is available, and the family also includes a babe in arms...." We passed the letter to the gorispolkom. And A. Skrobko sent us back the reply signed by Gorispolkom Chairman S. Andreyevskiy: "...and your serial number in 1987 was 202. Taking into account the fact that you are entitled to the benefit of priority in the improvement of your housing conditions, you have been entered on the benefits list under serial No 516 as of today...."

So, what is happening?

V. Yeftukh: We have investigated this matter. Indeed, the Skrobko family was in urgent need of improved housing conditions and was placed on the list way back in 1971. After Afghanistan, when he acquired benefit rights, the family was transferred to the benefits waiting list, which contains 108 Great Patriotic War veterans who were on the list before them, and others who are entitled to priority in housing allocation. This is why his serial number increased.

I have to report that at present, taking into account the extreme overcrowding, the family has been allocated official housing until its turn comes....

[Correspondents] It turns out that leaders' indifference is not always to blame for everything. A. Sidorova (she is not from Belorussia but from Izhevsk) writes, for example: "Surely not all people in our country are indifferent?! Let's look at the housing question. They've opened a special waiting lists for 'Afghans.' So what? I put myself in the gorispolkom chairman's shoes. How many of his people are entitled to benefits? Should a war veteran or invalid be given an apartment? He should. It is downright disgraceful not to give an apartment to a labor veteran who has spent 25-30 years working at an enterprise. The mother of a one-parent family who, by the way, shares equal rights with the 'Afghans'—she ought to have one. A young specialist also ought to have one.... But where are all these apartments to be found? And so it turns out that good resolutions are adopted without always taking actual potential into account. And it all starts from here—the indifference toward those guys who have experienced the hardships of war. Is there a way out?..."

V. Yeftukh: Yes, the housing problem in Belorussia is as acute as everywhere else. At present we have 139,000 families living in old or dilapidated houses. We have a total of about 600,000 families on the waiting list for improved housing conditions. Over 2,500 of them are families of Great Patriotic War invalids or dead servicemen, 1,300 are families of internationalist servicemen. In addition to them, priority in housing entitlement is also enjoyed by Great Patriotic War veterans (and there are quite a few of them, too), labor invalids, people suffering from certain categories of illness, reserve officers, the mothers of one-parent families, families with many children....

I am not going to talk now about the causes of this most acute housing situation in the republic. They are obviously the same everywhere. It is a sad and offensive fact that, more than 40 years after the end of the war, we have still not supplied apartments for all who shed their blood for the motherland and who are shedding their blood now, performing their international duty on the motherland's orders. This situation must be rectified. We have elaborated a comprehensive targeted program for the improvement of housing conditions for the Belorussian SSR's population in the 12th 5-Year Plan period and through the year 2000. If we succeed in implementing this program we will be able to provide housing for Great Patriotic War invalids and veterans, internationalist servicemen, and all others who are entitled to the appropriate benefits within the next few years, and to provide housing for every family by the year 2000.

[Correspondents] This letter is again not from Belorussia, it is from Leningrad. But we would like to hear your opinion. War veteran M. Tikhonov writes: "It is fundamentally wrong to equate soldiers who have served in

Afghanistan and Great Patriotic War veterans. During the Great Patriotic War servicemen fought for 1,418 days and nights against fascism and destroyed it. What similarities are there with Afghanistan? None. So why give them the same rights as us?"

V. Boris: I remember the last war, and I personally experienced the war in Afghanistan. I don't think this is the right way to pose the question. The burdens and dangers of war are the same for soldiers everywhere. I'll say just one thing: Here in Belorussia the attitude of Great Patriotic War veterans and all people toward the "Afghans" is very considerate and attentive. At least I personally have no knowledge of any other instances....

[Correspondents] Even so. The majority of readers, while branding indifference and arrogance as shameful, ultimately ask one and the same question: "When will this war end?" Moscow worker Pavel Rudakov, for example, writes: "...Every now and then you hear people say that the war in Afghanistan would have ended by now if leaders' children had been sent there in addition to the sons of workers, kolkhoz members, and members of the intelligentsia. But they are apparently being kept safe and are not being sent to the war. Could this be true?"

V. Boris: I find it difficult to say when the war in Afghanistan will end. To judge by press reports about the policy of national reconciliation pursued by the PDPA Central Committee, we shouldn't wait much longer. This is my personal opinion. As for the second part of the question, to be honest, I've never given this a thought. It might be better if you were to call at the military commissariat.

[Correspondents]...We called at the military commissariat in Minsk's Leninskiy Rayon and asked Commissar Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaftanchikov to brief us on callup matters, and it appeared that none of the guys from the last draft in the fall were assigned to Afghanistan.

We then got in touch with the republic military commissariat where we were told: Private First Class Yu. Turko, Private A. Shved, Junior Sergeant L. Sasunkevich, Private V. Gertsmanovich, and others, the sons of party and soviet officials from Belorussia, are now performing their international duty in the DRA.

"We are sending the very best to Afghanistan," the commissar explained, "those in top physical condition. Strange as it may seem, the children of leadership officials are very often physically unfit for service in the army. It must actually be admitted that, until quite recently, the military commissariat was subjected to powerful pressure to excuse their children from army service or at least to assign them somewhere closer to home. But I must say that this year we have had no such pressure...."

[Correspondents] And one last letter. Colonel B. Poleshchuk, Retired, suggests that internationalists be "legalized" in our country. "It is a sacrilege," he writes, "when our sons who have given their lives in the performance of the international duty lie nameless in the ground. It is time to abandon the false secrecy behind which heartless bureaucrats are hiding. It would probably be right to give some thought to inaugurating an Internationalists' Day. Many of our people were in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and the Near East when fighting raged there. Why is it that we know nothing about them? After all, education in the spirit of internationalism is one of our party's paramount tasks. So, why not put an inscription on the grave of a serviceman who died in Afghanistan to the effect that he died performing his international duty?"

V. Boris: I certainly disagree with the claim that internationalist servicemen are unknown in the republic. They work, as I've already said, in the Komsomol Central Committee and the apparatus of Komsomol obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. Clubs of internationalist servicemen have been set up, and museums, educational establishments, and enterprises dedicate "corners of glory" and exhibitions to them. Streets, schools, and young pioneer packs are named for them. Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms open accounts for funds to build monuments to the dead soldiers.... The Minsk city reserve servicemen's club and the "Pamyat" Students' Detachment at the V.I. Lenin Belorussian State University have proposed the erection of an obelisk in Minsk to commemorate Soviet people who have performed their international duty in Afghanistan and other countries.... Thus, it is downright wrong to say that we have forgotten the internationalist servicemen. There are shortcomings, of course, but...

[Correspondents] Vasiliy Ivanovich, we visited your Chizhovskoye Cemetery. We must admit that the guys' graves are well looked after. But the inscriptions... The inscription on the grave of Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Vladimirovich Arinich reads: "6.01.1960—30.01.1984." And that's all. Memorial inscriptions since 1984 read: "Died Heroically in Performance of International Duty." The place of death is simply not mentioned. Is there a special instruction on this account?

[Boris] I have no knowledge of such instructions if they do exist....

[Correspondents] We were told at the rayon and republic military commissariats: Such instructions were issued some time ago by the Ministry of Defense. Since 1984 in Belorussia the graves of those who have died in Afghanistan have been inscribed with consideration for the parents' wishes.

Almost every reader's letter ends with the question: "What measures have been taken?" The editorial office has received quite a few official replies from various institutions. There are also overtly formal replies among them. But that is a different matter.

Stalin's Wartime Role, Rural Starvation

PM251354 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Nov 87 p 2

[Interview with writer Mikhail Alekseyev by T.Arkhangelskaya: "Lessons for Tomorrow"—date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpt] [Arkhangelskaya] Mikhail Nikolayevich, what pleases you about today, and what saddens you?

[Alekseyev] The establishment of the principles of democracy and glasnost pleases me, but I also feel some concern—lest these great assets develop, through the efforts of certain individuals, into the negation of all that has been achieved in 70 years of soviet power.

[Arkhangelskaya] Does such a tendency exist, in your view? What form does it take?

[Alekseyev] People cannot see the wood for the trees. I keep thinking and thinking—yes, we suffered much that was painful and tragic, cruel trials fell to our lot. But all the same, who was it who created a superpower, because it was not "by magic" that our country rose to the level where it stands now and became a highly authoritative force in the international arena?

I am not idealizing the past. How could I! I can see clearly my half-starved childhood, and my youth, and all the same, half-starved, half-frozen as we were, we believed sincerely in the rightness of soviet power, in the revolution. Think what a moral stronghold we had to build in our souls, in order not only not to crack, but later to bear the brunt of the Great Patriotic War.

We sang wholeheartedly: "I know no other land where a man can breathe so freely!"

[Arkhangelskaya] Tell us about those years in more detail.

[Alekseyev] From 1936 through 1938, I was studying at the teacher training school in the little town of Atkarsk near Saratov. All we boys very much loved our principal. His name was Chursin. Tall, distinguished, with a tendency to roll his r's in the French manner, he was also thoughtful—he used to hand out R5 here, R10 there in addition to the grant, out of the school's small funds.

Then one day I arrive at the school and I hear: The principal has been arrested, the head of studies has been arrested, Petrov from the second grade, the trade union committee chairman, has been arrested, several more students, several more teachers... in one night... Enemies of the people. I start thinking about Petrov—what could they have taken him for? A good speaker, he used to speak out ardently at meetings. Once he said this: "The Spanish fascists have sunk our steamer *Komsomol*, we will take revenge. But they are fascists. And who will answer," he went on, "for the millions who left the arena of life in 1933, without any wars?" (he used to speak in a rather flowery way). Clearly some "vigilant" person had reported that speech of his.

I never again saw any of those who disappeared at that time.

It was a shock. We discussed it in whispers, we were afraid to speak out. And we trusted them. They could not make mistakes. So it must be true—they were enemies. Put yourself in the place of an 18-year-old village boy. I had no experience of life, still less historical experience. Now, from the standpoint of the eighties, we can and must draw conclusions and make generalizations, but in order to go forward, not in order to stand looking back.

To show you how strong our faith was in the unbounded rightness of the authorities, the leaders, I will cite another example. When the war started, I was serving at the Sumy artillery school. The blue line marking the fascists' advance moved closer and closer on the map of the front. One night someone, in a fury, took that blue line and moved it right back beyond our border. And just imagine, we decided that it was true—after all, our army is the mightiest, and the song "If Tomorrow Is War..." is so confident...

[Arkhangelskaya] When did you come to understand what was really happening?

[Alekseyev] At the front. But the biggest shock was Order No 227 from the people's commissar of defense. This was perhaps the only document in the entire war that was read out, line by line, to all the fighters, from the front commander to the private, inclusive. It came hard to hear that Soviet people, who had always seen the Red Army as their beloved, were now losing faith in it because of the endless retreats, that our land is great, but not boundless.... "Not a step back!" Everyone, from the division commander to the private soldier, everyone was given two antitank grenades. I remember how I felt—unless the order comes, I will not retreat, I will die on this very clod of Stalingrad soil.

[Arkhangelskaya] Mikhail Nikolayevich! I would like to know what your personal attitude is to Stalin.

[Alekseyev] I will tell you as if in the confessional: I think that during the Great Patriotic War his role was certainly great—a firm character was necessary at that time. I will call as a witness that undoubted authority, Marshal G.K. Zhukov. In his book *Reminiscences and Reflections* [*Vospominaniya i Razmyshleniya*] he writes, in particular: "I am often asked about I.V. Stalin's role during the battle of Moscow.

"Throughout that time I.V. Stalin was in Moscow, organizing forces and resources for the defeat of the enemy. He must be given his due. As head of the State Committee for Defense and with the support of the leadership personnel of the people's commissariats, he

did a colossal amount of work in creating the necessary strategic reserves and material and technical resources for the counteroffensive at Moscow. By means of his tough exactingness he achieved, you could say, what was almost impossible."

But as a peasant, as a countryman, I cannot forgive Stalin and all who carried out his instructions the form and methods by which collectivization was carried out. To this day, we cannot give the land back to its masters. And it all began with the distortion of Lenin's plans and the absence of a cautious, respectful, Leninist attitude to the middle peasant and the wise tiller.

We often used to repeat: "Lenin's brilliant cooperative plan," and "Lenin's brilliant article 'On Cooperativization,'" we never tired of repeating these words even during the years of stagnation. Talking is all very well, but in practice, for many years nobody was really responsible for the land. That was the source of all our troubles. That was the result of ignoring Lenin's instructions. It is sad to think how much time was wasted.... Much has to be started from scratch.

If you take my generation, we did not study Lenin from Lenin, but from *Questions of Leninism* and the *History of the All-union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Short Course.* And although it is painful to admit it, although we could reproduce from memory the "celebrated" fourth chapter—the paragraph on dialectical and historical materialism—we were, basically, politically semiliterate.

[Arkhangelskaya] Do you mean to say that the dogmatic approach to Leninism not only prevented the economy from developing correctly, but also acted as a brake on intellectual growth?

[Alekseyev] Certainly. I think today we should reread Lenin's legacy with the utmost attentiveness, and that includes us writers, who claim to call ourselves the "people's conscience." We will find much that is useful in that inexhaustible source.

But to continue.

The year 1933, when there was hunger in West Siberia, the Southern Urals, what is Orenburg Oblast today, North Kazakhstan, today's virgin lands, the Northern Caucasus, today's Stavropol Kray, the whole of the Volga—from Gorkiy to Astrakhan, the whole of the Kuban, the whole of the Ukraine, from west to east, Rostov and Tambov Oblasts, part of Kursk Oblast—that is, the very regions which had always supplied the people with bread and do so today! First they took away all the forage, and the kolkhoz horses died.... To save the land, the kolkhoz members harnessed their own cows (and very few of them were left!) and plowed with them. It amazes me that to this day not one textbook about our history has even a simple mention of 1933, a year marked by the most terrible tragedy. Whole families died. In our village of Monastyrskoye, out of 600 homesteads, only 150 were left, yet no war reached those parts of the Saratov region! Many of my relatives and school friends died before my very eyes, many of them were buried in the ground where death by starvation struck them down.

[Arkhangelskaya] But who were those who went round the homesteads and took away every last thing from starving people?

[Alekseyev] I am afraid to accuse them. They were not acting from malice, they were convinced that they were right, they were carrying out instructions. True, for some reason nearly all of them ended up in the cities, none of them died of hunger. They did not remain on the kolkhoz to put things to rights, they did not give their last efforts to the land, like true native tillers of the soil. All the same, it passed! In December 1934, my elder brothers received full sacks of grain in payment for their work. Mother could no longer get up. I said to her: "Mom, look how much grain they've brought!" She half-opened her eyes: "Thank heavens! We'll live." A few days later she died. Not much later, father died too. He was arrested because, as secretary of the village soviet, he had issued certificates to the peasants to enable them to leave. Many years later one old man came to see me and carefully unrolled an old rag, in which there was a certificate. Here, he said, this is my savior. At that time 10 of us got away, thanks to your father. Then four of my six sons died in the war.

So I come back to my persistent thought—despite all the difficulties, privations, and tragedies, our generation had a devout believe in a higher justice. In the war, in the most difficult times, we believed in victory without fail. And we always believed that the revolutionary transformations in the country would give our children and grandchildren, if not ourselves, the opportunity to live the good life.

[Arkhangelskaya] Nearly everything we have spoken about thus far is in your books. I have heard that the Leningrad television studio is finishing shooting a series based on your works. Is that true?

[Alekseyev] Yes. Director G. Nikulin has invited the remarkable actress Nina Ruslanova to take the female lead. The overall title of the series is *Bread Is a Substantive* [*Khleb—Imya Sushchestvitelnoye*], and it is based on the novels and stories "Troublemakers" ["Drachuny"], "Karyukha," "The Cherry Red Whirlpool" ["Vishnevyy Omut"], and "Bread Is a Substantive" itself.

[Arkhangelskaya] Apparently one critic called these books the story of the "rural Rougon-Macquarts" [reference to Zola's novel sequence].

[Alekseyev] The late Nikolay Aseyev was the first to call them that.

It is my sweet and bitter song about my native country, about the people among whom I grew up. They did the filming in my district too. In order to film the old village, they had to build thatched huts and erect a church wall to shoot a wedding. We used to have three active churches in the village, impressive, very beautiful buildings, they kept the whole surrounding area under their wing. They were pulled down in the thirties.

[Arkhangelskaya] And does the action stop in the thirties?

[Alekseyev] No, I wrote an epilogue specially, bringing it up to the present.

[Arkhangelskaya] Judging from the fact that the film crew had to create a mockup of poverty, presumably things are not going badly today?

[Alekseyev] Where they have laid hard-surface roads, life is going well. But there are gloomy pictures too—there are empty villages, abandoned slate-roofed and tin-roofed houses on the banks of the fine rivers Medveditsa, Balanda, Khoper... the homesteads are still there... no human voice, not a chicken or a cat running about... only weeds up to your neck. It is terrible that the people have gone, but what is a hundred times worse is that the land is dying! It is not suitable for vegetable growing or for grain, it is all overgrown with wormwood and weeds.

I talked with V.V. Trushin, first secretary of Lysogorskiy party raykom, and asked him: What do they intend to do? There is nothing else we can do, he said, except to demolish the remnants of the houses, uproot everything, and send in the Kirovets tractors. At least we will save the land, we will sow. [passage omitted]

Shatrov Play Depicts Lenin, Trotskiy
PM231649 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 46, 15 Nov 87 p 15

[Aleksandr Svobodin article: "Theatre Galore! Notes From a Preview of 'The Peace of Brest' at the Vakhtangov Theatre"]

[Text] I hope the readers notice the bold type of the title. It is there at the author's request. Why? Let me explain.

The people coming to see Robert Sturua's production of Mikhail Shatrov's play are sure to be struck by the discrepancy between their expectations and the actual performance. Indeed, the play has appeared unpredictable to many of my colleagues, drama critics.

Not all of them can easily put up with such an open departure from the conventional. Many might find the style of the production unintelligible, unacceptable or shocking. It is for them that I chose to emphasize the word theatre in the headline.

The cast speak the language of modern theatre. This is neither dramatized prose, nor the public reading of documents. The actors playing historical personages do not have any characterization. Whatever happens on stage is the theatre, pure and simple, the art most closely connected with music.

One might expect that the novelty of the play is inherent in Mikhail Shatrov's script and the very fact of its public performance. Indeed, the play revives one of the most tragic moments in the last 70 years of our national history. It is a paradox that the dramatist has anticipated historians. We know next to nothing about the characters and careers of Lenin's closest allies Trotskiy and Bukharin (who both appear in the play), and have little idea about Stalin's real, not mythological role in Soviet history. Yet here we see them appearing in one of the most conventional art forms. Shatrov does not retouch or simplify his characters. He offers us irrevocable facts, the history which ought to have long passed from the archives to the books and scholarly discussions open to every conscious citizen.

Robert Sturua, however, does not stage the play simply to fill in the gap in our knowledge of national history. The artist does not see his mission in educating us. A world-renowned interpreter of Shakespeare, Robert Sturua seeks to present the drama of ideas and the drama of characters born of history rather than everyday life. He sees them as epic characters, as symbols even.

The end product is a synthetic spectacle coherent in style and drawing on the theatrical traditions of many nations and epochs. Yet it is not a sum total of artistic devices borrowed from historical memory, but the mode of thinking typical of an outstanding artist. There are elements of ancient Greek chorus, Brecht's political theatre, the sketches of the early post-revolutionary years, melodrama and modern mime—all transformed by Sturua's fantasy.

There is the spirit of tragedy and the touches of psychological theatre in his production, too. But, above all, we feel the spirit of the unique theatrical culture—the powerful spirit of Georgia—emanating from the stage of a Russian theatre.

A trio of remarkable Georgian artists landed in Moscow's Arbat as a task force to give a new impetus to the once famous Vakhtangov company whose spirits had been drooping for the last decade or so.

Together with director Robert Sturua, stage designer Georgiy Aleksi-Meskhishvili and composer Giya Kancheli constitute an indivisible whole, a crew of like-minded artists. ...A spotlight of unearthly brightness illuminates a staircase of infernal blackness, and we see clearly that it leads from the depth of time rather than from backstage. It is by these stairs that the main characters - Lenin and Trotskiy - come to the proscenium, the foreground of history. The light roams the

space of the stage universe illuminating a cosy living room, a row of chairs under cover (like the chairs in the empty auditorium are covered between performances). The cover is taken off when the time comes. The characters arrange the chairs to suit the action. Each has a hand in the business of regrouping the chairs. At one side, the stage is roofed by a glazed studio window, but the windowpanes are broken in many places. The image of ephemeral existence of an artist, a conspirator or whatever you choose to associate with the studio window is powerful and touching. The winds of history blow in the bare mansard.

Giya Kancheli, a long-standing partner of Robert Sturua, has a rare sense of the stage. Like Beethoven's "knocking of Fate" the Georgian composer's chords invariably foretell each new turn of events.

One enjoys the visual, colour, light and musical score of the play. There's a plot there which is as exciting to follow as the plot of the play. This is **theatre** for you! What a pity there are people in the audience who can pick up only words. It is for them that I chose to print the word **"THEATRE"** in bold type.

But the most extraordinary thing about the play is the way the drama of ideas gradually evolves into the drama of characters.

Mikhail Ulyanov, the actor and the public figure, is keen on the dialectic of Lenin's thought. In his interpretation, one can sense the experience of the TV series about Lenin which has been released only recently after twenty years on the shelf. Without the need to "look like Lenin", the actor can concentrate more fully on rendering the elegance, fervour, simplicity and complexity of Lenin's thought. The tragedy of the individual human being thus becomes all the more transparent and moving. A genius capable of seeing clearer and farther than others, he feels terribly lonely. Like Laocoon, he struggles in the grip of group opinions and positions. As people group and regroup in the Central Committee, as they shift their positions and change their opinions, he sticks to his idea unswervingly: the Revolution must be saved at all cost, even at the cost of his personal political and human humiliation.

It is surprising how the characters enacted in various genres fit in the universal theatrical medium. Vasiliy Lanovoy as Trotskiy begins his part in an eccentric style. A Mephistopheles, a werewolf of the Revolution, he engages in the tragic dialogue with Lenin about the Brest peace.

Irina Kupchenko as Inessa Armand provides the lyrical tone. Her scene with Lenin whose feelings are strained to the point of a breakdown, is remarkably sincere and truthful (as well as quite unusual for us). With a minimum of words, Alla Parfanyak succeeds in showing the difficult lot and the great role of Krupskaya. The silent duet of the two women characters is extremely meaningful.

By a combination of rhythm, clues and smiles, Vladimir Koval as Stalin manages to forecast the ominous future of his personage.

Many of Lenin's comrades-in-arms have already come to life, ahthough not all the actors have fully realized the potential of their parts.

Begun Visa Demands Called 'Propaganda Show'

LD251912 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports: Iosif Begun and his patrons in some Western organizations have done everything to make Begun famous. He had been pressing for the permission to leave for Israel and such a permission was granted to him last September. Now September and October passed, November is running out, but Begun is still not leaving for Israel.

Until recently he was asserting that the only obstacle for his departure is in getting an exit visa for his son. And now his son and his family have been granted the permission to leave. Begun Jr., however, refuses to get the visa and proclaims his wish to retain his Soviet citizenship. It now becomes absolutely clear that Begun needed all the hullabaloo about demands for visas for provocative purposes.

It turns out that he had no intention to leave but simply staged a cheap propaganda show. Correspondents of the United States and some other countries invariably attend that show. They went out of their way to describe the trying experiences of the refusenik Begun family. When staging a provocative show near the Moscow television centre, Begun was put a reasonable question: Why is it that he is still in the Soviet Union after pressing for exit visas for so long? Iosif Begun said pointedly: "And who will remain here?"

The matter is that somebody needs him here in the Soviet Union. Apparently, Begun has not yet prepared the replacement for himself to continue extremist actions. Definite circles in the West prefer to have Begun and his ilk here for all sort of dirty jobs.

Dissident Ogurtsov To Arrive in Vienna 29 Nov

LD251446 Hamburg DPA in German 1352 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Frankfurt/Vienna, (DPA)—The Soviet human rights campaigner Igor Ogurtsov, who was released in February after 20 years imprisonment, will arrive in

Vienna on an Aeroflot flight on Sunday, the International Society for Human Rights (IGFM) announced in Frankfurt today. The 50-year-old philologist and his parents had received their emigration papers from the Soviet authorities after they had been denied "reintegration into society."

According to the IGFM's information, Ogurtsov was arrested by the KGB in 1967 for "betrayal of the state." In passing the severe sentence imposed on him he was charged with "founding an All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the liberation of the people." Ogurtsov had served 15 years in a labor camp and 5 years in exile.

Historian Roy Medvedev Writes on Reforms

AU101218 Vienna PROFIL in German No 45, 9 Nov 87 pp 50-52

[Article by Roy Medvedev: "Stop the Fear"; "slightly shortened exclusive article"; subheads by PROFIL]

[Text] In the thirties, Stalin did not eliminate the basic structure of Soviet power, but he changed its function. The Communist Party became an instrument of the state and was put under the control of the repressive organs. A terrorist police state developed while some elements of socialism were retained.

The forced industrialization of the thirties resulted in new cities and industrial areas. The workers class grew, but its political rights were curtailed and the possibilities of the trade unions were restricted. Owing to a regulation that dated back to before the war, workers and employees were not permitted to change their jobs without the agreement of the directors.

Stalin's Pack-Ice [subhead]

The majority of the youth of the twenties died on the battlefields and in German prison camps. The victory over fascism then aroused many hopes. In an election speech in 1946, Stalin promised the people to quickly rebuild the country. Production should rise to three times the amount before the war within 15 years.

But during the first decade after the war, we did not just have successes. The fact that the Soviet Union was no longer the sole socialist state did not offer Stalin much opportunity for the progress of socialism and world revolution; as a superpower chauvinist, he tried to bring the politics of the new socialist countries under his control. Although the Soviet Union rose to become a military superpower, it lagged behind the Western countries in the economic field.

Khrushchev's Failure [subhead]

After Stalin's death in 1953, there were considerable changes in our country. The party again gained control over the repressive organs, renounced mass terrorism, and condemned Stalin's personality cult and his crimes. In the villages, collectives were reinstituted, the rights of workers and trade unions were expanded. The camps for political prisoners were eliminated and millions of people were rehabilitated. Although there were changes in the personnel of the administrative apparatus, the bureaucratic methods remained the same. Cultural life continued to be subjected to strict control. The economy expanded, but mainly because of the influence of outside factors.

Nikita Khrushchev enriched foreign relations with his policy of detente and established contacts with the Third World. In 1961, the 22d CPSU Congress decided—upon Khrushchev's request—to overtake the United States within 20 years and to establish a communist society. (Footnote one) (In Soviet terminology, "communism" means a society of abundance—the editors) Of course, this was not possible; only in the field of nuclear missiles did the Soviet Union catch up with the United States in the seventies.

Brezhnev's Swamp [subhead]

Under Brezhnev, we no longer heard anything about the building of communism. However, a socialist society cannot live without a great goal. Therefore, Brezhnev and his followers set themselves the task to lead the Soviet Union to a flourishing "developed socialism" in the eighties.

Later, concrete concepts proceeded from this, such as the food program. In the eighties, industrial goods and foodstuffs should be produced abundantly. This was not achieved, however.

At the same time, Brezhnev cancelled a number of absolutely reasonable reforms from Khrushchev's time, including Nikolay Kosygin's economic reform. It was a return to bureaucratic guidance of the economy. Any initiative from below was killed off. The economy did not grow any longer—not even as a result of the influence of outside factors.

Every year, in agriculture dozens of million tonnes of grain and other foodstuffs had to be purchased from Western countries. Only the fact that we have the world's largest resources of crude oil, natural gas, timber, and other raw materials saved our continuously weakening economy from bankruptcy.

The country entered a decade of stagnation where it was becoming a swamp; the lazy and corrupt leadership did not think of the welfare of the people but only cared for its own power and sweet life.

The quality of Soviet goods deteriorated and production declined. The new personality cult became even more grotesque. The manufacture of medals became the most flourishing branch of the economy. The Soviet Union entered a general crisis.

No Cheers for Perestroyka [subhead]

It was therefore indispensably necessary for the new leadership to put out the slogans of "perestroyka" (restructuring), "intensification," "acceleration," "reform," and "revolutionary restructuring" over the past 2 and 1/2 years. The usual enthusiasm of earlier times is, however, missing. Our people are tired of hearing nothing but promises and slogans all the time. The majority of our people have grown accustomed to bad work.

The gigantic bureaucracy is not in any way interested in perestroyka; it is afraid of it. Therefore, everything is going very slowly and successes are much smaller than were expected in April 1985. Although there are promising experiments everywhere, this is not "revolutionary restructuring."

All the world is watching Gorbachev and the other new leaders. The success of perestroyka, however, depends on the people's initiative and not on the leaders. One has to overcome the alienation which has developed in the Soviet national economy between production, technology, and the people. It is not only a question of applying new technologies, but of the neglected factor of human relations, of work ethics, of the people's feeling that they are again masters in their own enterprise.

Criticism Is Healthy [subhead]

Of course, the party will continue to be the main driving force of perestroyka. In our country the "revolution" is ordered from above. It will, however, not be successful if it is not supported from below by all the people. In this connection, the intellectuals, who did not see any opportunity for creative freedom under Brezhnev, are important.

There are also the intellectual workers in the technical field, who were put into a very low rank at that time. An engineer earned less than an unskilled worker. The same applied to teachers, doctors, and scientists. Now this is starting to change slowly—very slowly.

"Glasnost," real freedom of discussion and criticism, is a means of integrating the intellectuals into the restructuring. No one can deny progress in this field.

Propaganda today speaks much about the enormous successes since the Great October Socialist Revolution. But we do not see a festive mood among the people, we do not hear the sound of fanfares. On the contrary, since the beginning of the anniversary year, the grievances have been criticized more and more vociferously. As early as 1922, on the revolution's fifth anniversary, Lenin said that the best way to celebrate is to point out grievances to the people and the party. This advice was later forgotten, but now it is being accepted again.

At present, our press reports on alcoholism, prostitution, drug addiction, and on traffic and work accidents. For the first time, crime statistics have been published, which were considered secret in the past. Cases of abuse of power have been revealed—even among the highest officials; there are reports on Mafia-like structures in many cities and republics.

Criticism does not stop at history, where falsifications are often found. In historiography and fiction, repression under Stalin and the terrorism of the thirties have become topics this year. The methods of collectivization and the violation of Lenin's principle of the New Economic Policy (NEP) have been discussed.

In one single year, the Soviet press, cinemas, theaters, literature, and journalism have given themselves a totally new face. Cultural perestroyka has clearly overtaken economic perestroyka. This development is promoted by enormous activity on the Kremlin's part and strong pressure from above, resulting from the authoritarian structure of party and state.

There have been stubborn attempts to suppress this unaccustomed wave of criticism by pointing out successes. But criticism of the negative sides of Soviet reality is growing. Only at the end of October—immediately before the festive celebrations—did criticism disappear from the papers.

Revolution Without the Masses [subhead]

Opposition against perestroyka is growing. So far, it has not acquired any definite form, there is neither a recognized leader nor a joint program; but it must be taken seriously. The dividing line between those for and against the "new revolution" crosses all strata of the population.

Today one can no longer rule and live in the old way. This statement is, however, only one half of Lenin's well-known formula for a revolutionary situation. The other half is the existence of a mass movement, as it existed in 1917.

It was the activity of the masses that bolstered the economy during the NEP period in the twenties, achieved success for the 5-year plans, and made possible the victory over fascism (after the serious defeats of 1941-42). Today this activity is awakening only haltingly.

In the anniversary year of 1987, there were signs not only of liberalization but even of democratization—perhaps for the first time in the years of Soviet power. Signs of this are the scope and depth of criticism, the activities of the press, and the limiting of censorship. Thousands of informal groups and clubs are sprouting up all over the country. Many small magazines have been established, which present all urgent problems for discussion.

Students are marching in the first row of the spontaneous youth movement. They have not had the chance of being disappointed by the nonfulfillment of promises of reforms. They have not been poisoned by the atmosphere of stagnation during the seventies, when the young people disgustedly turned away from politics. Unfortunately, the majority of the 30- and 40-year-olds have to be counted among this lost generation.

The stratum that increasingly emerges today belongs to the generation of the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956. Its political awareness was developed in the 2 decades after the war. The spontaneous activity of these two generations—the youth and their older allies—is often in contradiction to the official line. The official line wants to remove the ties of bureaucratic conservatism only slowly.

The change toward democracy and glasnost is in no way irreversible. The forces of inertia and reaction are still too strong. However, this time it would not be easy to turn back again.

Would-Be Emigrant Denies IZVESTIYA Charge

AU251123 Paris AFP in English 1108 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Moscow, Nov 25 (AFP)—A Soviet "divided spouse" seeking to join his U.S. wife in Washington Wednesday denied a charge in the Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestiya* that he held state secrets.

"I have no state secrets," Sergey Petrov told AFP in an interview. He said that he and other Soviet divided spouses on a U.S. list were concerned that such "pretexts" would be raised so that Soviet authorities could "keep us as hostages, and use us as a bargaining chip as there are so few of us left." [passage omitted]

Mr. Petrov, 34, said that he had studied maths, physics and radio engineering at Moscow University, and had worked for three months as an engineer at a research institute after graduating. He has worked as a freelance photographer for the last 11 years.

He noted that refuznik Vladimir Slepak, who emigrated to Israel last month after waiting more than 17 years for an exit visa, had been told by visa authorities he would "never be allowed to emigrate" because of the classified information he purportedly held.

Capture of Drug Addicts in Chita Oblast

LD261126 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] A group of dangerous criminals has been arrested in Chita Oblast. Here is a report by a TASS correspondent:

The visit to Aleksandrovskoye village in Transbaykal by a gang of criminals came to an inglorious end—as befits such an event. It took a few hours for the local militia to stop them. The story they got out of a frightened woman who found the robbers in her home revealed little. But it became clear from the victim's words that these were not simply thieves but also drug addicts: so that the danger was increased twofold. Experience and intuition suggested to the guardians of law and order that the criminals could not have gotten far. Traces led to thin ice on the River Ingoda. It was not easy to get across, but at the risk of falling through into the water the sleuths nevertheless got over on to the other side of the river. But here is something those hunting the robbers had not expected at the riverside in this dangerous place: They had decided to take a rest and savor their hashish! The victim's stolen possessions were lying alongside them. The militia soon seized three other bandits and drug addicts with stolen property. As it turned out, the criminal group had been operating for some time in Komsomolsk-on-Amur and had then moved to Buryatiya. The robbers had, by the way, stolen two vehicles and had just about decided to return to their home towns.

Resolution on Improving Health Care Passed

LD261357 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Plans have been made in the Soviet Union to radically improve public health care. In the coming 15 years twice as much funds as today will be allocated for the construction of hospitals and polyclinics. Health care, hospital treatment included, will remain free.

A wide range of measures to upgrade the system of health care in the country is outlined in a resolution passed by the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, out today.

The document is called "Guidelines for the Development of the Population's Health Protection and the Restructuring of the Health Care System in the U.S.S.R. in the 12th Five-Year Plan Period and the Period Till the Year 2000." The resolution incorporates suggestions and recommendations made during a nation-wide discussion of its draft that lasted over three months.

The document noted in part that over the 70 years of Soviet Government the health of the population has notably improved. The general mortality rate has decreased three times and child death rate—11 times, while the average life expectancy has doubled and many dangerous infectious diseases have been eradicated.

One of the indisputable gains of socialism is the tendency toward a social homogeneity of public health. An improvement across the entire range of health indices is characteristic of the diverse groups of the population, all nations and nationalities making up the U.S.S.R. many nationalities which were doomed to virtual extinction before the Great October Socialist Revolution have also achieved high health indices.

The World Health Organization recommended the principles of the Soviet health care system as a model for the establishment of national public health services.

Achievements of Soviet medical science attest to substantial advantages and possibilities of socialist society in tackling health problems, the resolution noted. However, such possibilities are not being used in full.

The document is essentially a comprhensive plan (comprising over 50 pages of text). Its essence is formulated in the following way: "Improving the health of each Soviet citizen is a cause of paramount importance, a humane and noble objective of the economic and social development of our society."

Soviet Medical Expert Interviewed on AIDS

AU122120 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 11 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with Anatoliy Myasnenko, deputy chief epidemiologist of the USSR Ministry of Health and head of the virology department of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, by Nikolay Gavrilov—date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Myasnenko has such a wide range of activities that on whatever subject you raise with him, he immediately involves you in a most interesting conversation. A veteran of the Patriotic War, meritorious physician of the RSFSR, doctor of medical sciences, deputy chief epidemiologist of the USSR Ministry of Health, and head of the Virology Department of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, he is even honorary citizen of... Momchilgrad. The subject of our interview did not surprise him, since everyone is talking about AIDS—the disease of the century. We chose this topic, despite the fact that the professor is visiting our country (in accordance with our fraternal relations) as a member of the delegation from the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society on the occasion of the October Revolution anniversary. [passage omitted]

[Gavrilov] Numerous people are inclined to make fun, in your country and ours, of scientists who claim that AIDS is connected with social conditions and that these conditions are worse in the West which is more favorable to the spreading of the disease, while in our countries the situation is different. As a scientists, what is your opinion on this question?

[Myasnenko] Exactly the same, and let us leave irony out of it for the time being. It is true, indeed, that in the socialist countries there are no conditions for the wide spread of AIDS. There are no such conditions, also because there is less drug addiction and there is no propaganda for the freedom of sexual perversions. This is confirmed by statistical data. In our countries, the cases of AIDS patients are rare and the number of virus carriers is considerably less than in the West.

[Gavrilov] What can you say about glasnost in the struggle against AIDS? Periodical press conferences are held on the subject in our country and our society is widely acquainted with the situation of AIDS.

[Myasnenko] We are not organizing any press conferences on this problem in the USSR, but I do not consider this as a mistake on our part. There are periodical reports in the press providing details on AIDS, and their authors are not journalists, but scientists and experts. I am coming back to your previous question—there is no need to panic, there is no need to make unnecessary noise, and to blow the horn—unless we can overcome the disease in doing so?! [passage omitted]

On the other hand, frankly speaking, we, the medical experts from socialist countries, do not cooperate enough in the struggle against AIDS. Our cooperation with your scientists, for example, is not sufficiently developed in this respect. One of the goals of my assignment to Bulgaria is to discuss this urgent problem.

[Gavrilov] Anatoliy Mikhailovich, you did not give a definite answer to my question as to the existence of a decisive remedy against AIDS. This is something that interests all readers....

[Myasnenko] It is not exactly correct to say that I did not reply, I just kept silent, but if you insist, I will say that even in sports it is difficult to make forecasts. The discovery of a remedy against AIDS, of a vaccine, will be either a very slow process, or a sudden event. As usual, the discovery will be unexpected. [passage omitted]

[Gavrilov] Recently people have been talking about cholera, even about an epidemic. Is there any truth in this?

[Myasnenko] There are no such indications. Cholera is a disease which cannot be considered dangerous today. Its virus is widely known and struggle against this disease is pure by routine work. We, scientists, have cholera under control, but we cannot say the same about AIDS. Finally, I would like to reiterate the main thing: Everyone should participate in the struggle against AIDS with joint efforts. World medical science has reached a high standard. Excessive pessimism is therefore unnecessary.

Restructuring of Higher Education Viewed

PM231621 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Ministry and the VUZ. The Course of Higher School Restructuring Depends on Their Cooperation"]

[Text] The fearless thinking, competence, and high vocational training of specialists are always valued. But these qualities are assuming special significance in the course of the revolutionary changes in the life of our society. The times themselves demand the shaping of innovative

thought and action capable of ensuring a qualitatively new stage of socioeconomic and spiritual transformations. Precisely this is why the party and the government have defined the preferential development of higher education among the priority tasks of restructuring.

A program for the radical modernization of the VUZ [production] shop was adopted last spring in accordance with the 27th CPSU Congress decisions. The basic principles of the planned changes became known even earlier. However, as the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education itself admits, the practical implementation of the ideas of restructuring has not yet gotten beyond the very first steps in a relatively small number of educational institutions. Various reasons for this are given. Not without reason the ministry refers to a lack of initiative and enterprise on the part of VUZ collectives and to the habit, which they have not overcome, of overregimenting matters and relying on instructions and orders "from above." In letters to the editorial office VUZ leaders and teachers in turn complain of the passiveness of the sector headquarters and of the vague and contradictory nature of its recommendations. Of course, the participants in any great undertaking need time and effort to achieve clear mutual understanding. But alarm is aroused in this situation by the fact that the ministry apparently has not fully mastered the art of controlling the restructuring processes, and in some cases it forestalls events, while in others it acts as their registrar.

Pravda readers point out that the changes in the regulations governing admission to VUZ's are significant in this respect. There is undoubtedly a need to improve them constantly; experiments are legitimate here too. But admission to VUZ's, particularly with regard to vocational suitability, is not a simple procedure. It affects the interests of millions of secondary school graduates and the life plans of their families. Inconsiderate actions by the ministry, rector's offices, or admission commissions acutely affect the destinies of thousands of young people. Therefore any innovation in the regulations must be carefully weighed and verified at councils of rectors of large VUZ centers and be checked in open [glasnyy] public discussion. Otherwise, as happened this year, an idea suddenly appears at someone's bureaucratic instigation—to demand that those entering the juridical specialties supply what are almost recommendations from higher organs of power. Whatever dictates changes in the admission regulations—demands for enhanced social justice or changes in the substance of the cadre imperative—the public must know of this in good time.

VUZ restructuring is founded on a fruitful pedagogic idea: to ensure that the student is conscious of his responsibility for the quality of studies and to transform him from a passive schoolchild into an active creator of himself as a specialist. The means of achieving this goal have been defined: The number of hours of independent study is to be increased by squeezing overblown lecture courses. For this the union Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has granted rector's offices and academic councils extensive rights, warning that changes must be made to teaching schedules as the objective conditions are created.

Unfortunately, we have not managed without unjustified haste and jumping the gun. In certain VUZ's the introduction of a "free day" in the weekly student schedule has not been prepared for either methodically or organizationally. In other cases the "independence" of future specialists has been reduced to sitting over pages of textbooks and abstracts under teachers' supervision. Difficulties have been exposed in the arts faculties of universities, including famous ones such as Leningrad University: There are insufficient copies of teaching and scientific literature, the typographical and duplicating base is weak, and the libraries' capacity is low.

And it must not be forgotten that a reduction in lecture courses is not an end in itself. Boring repetitions and prolixities, dogmatism, and obsolete scientific views and information must be driven out of the lecture halls. But the lecturer's word is not devalued, and its significance and weight only increase under the new conditions. An hour's contact with an outstanding lecturer or a remarkable scientist arouses young people's inquisitiveness and elevates their thoughts to serve the truth. It is the duty of VUZ party committees and academic councils to use the authority of glasnost to verify the collective's creative potential and to seek and assert the optimum forms and combinations of students' lecture-hall studies and independent work. At the same time, their efforts need the real support of the union Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. Precisely this ministry, as the headquarters, must show initiative and make calculations: What resources universities and institutes have at their disposal today and where to attract funds from.

The democratic principles inherent in Soviet higher schooling are today being filled with new substance. Rector elections have been held in dozens of VUZ's. Academic councils have been supplemented by students with rights as full participants. Student self-management is gathering momentum. Inertia still sometimes makes itself felt, and flaws cannot be obviated. The very first experiments suggest that we must study the culture of glasnost and democracy, protect them both against bureaucratic relapses and against impulses toward demagoguery, guarantee independence of judgments and ideas, and prevent the settling of personal scores. The union and republic ministries of higher and secondary specialized education are to play an important role in this: study and strengthen the practice of VUZ democracy and assert what is best.

The mechanism of the restructuring of sectorial and departmental VUZ's needs serious amendment. They are still not protected against the diktat and the parochial ideas of the ministries to which they are subordinate. Thus, the Ministry of Railways has virtually banned

"its" educational institutions from conducting scientific research for enterprises of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and the Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building, which create equipment for railroad men, unless they transfer the labor quotas. As a result, VUZ's lose the opportunity to use a portion of the amounts deducted from economic contract work to improve the cultural and domestic conditions of their employees and students, although the Ministry of Railways itself is not in a position to resolve the question of funding sociocultural and domestic work. But the damage is not confined to finances. For the future specialists are deprived of a creative ground to hone their professional skill, and they find themselves cut off from production cares.

The certification of VUZ's being conducted by the State VUZ Inspectorate must serve as a barrier to departmental ambitions. In the course of it all aspects of the institute's activity are assessed, chief among which is the quality of the training of specialists and the efficiency of scientific research. Therefore, in a case where sector interests come into conflict with the development of VUZ's as national economic and essentially all-state establishments, proposals to resubordinate them to the union or republic ministries of higher and secondary specialized education might prove useful.

The practical implementation of VUZ restructuring is only just beginning, but it is precisely at the start that the distribution of forces is determined in long-distance races and that the strategy of success is predetermined. May every VUZ Communist, whether a rank-and-file teacher, a venerable professor, or a leader of this very important sphere of education, make a worthy contribution to the transformation of higher schooling.

Economic

Wholesale Trade Plans Considered

PM201027 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 1

[M. Krushinskiy "Economic Review": "Resources and the Market"]

[Text] Our economy has reached a difficult stage. Old and new economic management methods are rubbing shoulders with each other and sometimes even clash.

"Dear editor! As an experienced propaganda worker, I should have a proper grasp of the problems involved with the current policy," A. Poberskiy, a reader from Yevpatoriya, wrote. "But there is one point on which I am unclear: On the one hand, we have announced the transition to wholesale trade in production capital, while on the other, there is a great deal of talk about how we must save cement, metal, gasoline, and so forth.... How are we to link economic levers of management and the latest thrift campaign?...."

We will try to explain. It is indeed true that satisfaction of production's material and technical needs through wholesale trade is intended to replace the obsolete system of meeting these needs through allocations made "from above" and distributed between sectors and individual enterprises, like the food ration cards during the war and immediately after. It is also correct that the plan for next year and the longer-term future envisages a very strict resource-saving program.

In line with this program, the metals-intensiveness of the country's national income must be reduced by 6.9% by the end of the 5-year period and its energy-intensiveness by 5.3%. Next year alone, for example, it is planned to achieve 79% of production growth in the machine-building sector through savings on rolled ferrous metals. In capital construction, the target is even "tougher": All production growth next year must be achieved through savings on rolled products, timber, and building materials. In all, products worth a total of R31 billion must be produced without any additional material resources: Almost 80% of all growth must be achieved through saving on resources. In practical terms this means a reduction in the supply "ration" for the majority of industrial enterprises and building sites.

Is there a contradiction here? To a certain extent, yes. Just suppose, for example, that I buy some cement "with my own hard-earned cash;" is there any reason to urge me to be careful in how much I use? After all, I would be the one "up the creek" if I used too much! But no one has suggested yet that cement should be freely on sale, and there is no intention of doing so in the near future: Together with asbestos, this construction material will continue to be allocated in 1988.

Is there any particular shortage? Yes and no—these are the dialectics of the situation. Yes, inasmuch as there is an acute shortage, as any economic worker will gladly confirm. No, because we are one of the "great cement powers": We produced 135 million tonnes in 1986, second in the world after the PRC. The situation is only partly explained by the enormous amount of industrial and civilian building. Another, unpalatable, reason for this "discrepancy" is that its proportionate expenditure is considerably higher than in developed capitalist states.

According to *Stroitelnaya Gazeta*, for example, we could save 5 million tonnes of cement next year simply by improving our technique for preparing concrete mix. And what if planning decisions in construction were to be more "refined"? And if there were elementary thrift at building sites and on roads and railways? Finally, what if a stop were to be put to bad management and squandering of national assets? The *Izvestiya* office recently received an entire "deputation" of bridge builders from the far north who told us, among other things, that because of a deviation from the plan they had had to pull the bridge down with their own hands and rebuild it. I am not naming any names, because the facts still have to

be verified, but the fact that the phenomenon known as "bad management" is fairly deep-rooted in our society hardly requires any special proof.

It is true that the reasons for all this are to be found in the old, obsolete economic management principles. The "card" system of resource distribution corrupts the consumer, apart from anything else, as it fosters a consumerist mentality. Acquiring funds "under the counter" and "extracting" them is now very common practice, and as soon as you do "get hold of" these funds you spend them; otherwise your "allowance" will be cut next year! Hence the increased "hoarding" by many economic managers: It is better to lay aside anything you do not need at present "for a rainy day" rather than share it with your neighbor. This practice is particularly to blame for creating artificial shortages. The cost of above-norm (read: "frozen") stocks of raw materials, other materials, and semi-finished products in industry has reached R27 billion. How can they be "animated" and made to "work"?

Yes, wholesale trade is the answer, of course. A "self-regulating" economy, under which commodity and money flows are well-balanced, every consumer acquires exactly what he needs for his own optimum development, as well as optimum development of the sector and the state as a whole, and makes every endeavor to pass on what he does not need as soon as possible, is the ideal and one of the ultimate aims of restructuring the economic mechanism. But the problem will not be solved "at one fell swoop." Just suppose "general" wholesale trade were to be announced tomorrow: It is hard to imagine the merry-go-round of prices that would begin and the new distortions, shortages, and speculation that would appear. A well-considered, gradual approach must be taken to the problem.

Considerable progress has already been made. Enterprises now have far broader opportunities to manage their own "non-liquid assets." As an experiment, an entire sector under the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, scientific research institutes, and some other consumers are now having their supply requirements met by wholesale trade. And the circle is growing wider: Next year, wholesale trade turnover will increase from R10 billion to R35 billion.

Initial experience has already brought to light the initial difficulties. Many people have become used to thinking along the following lines: I have turned out the number of items "I was told to produce," so now it is up to the state and the Gossnab to "find them a home;" it is none of my business. Guaranteed sale is also a corrupting factor: hence the drop in quality and the warehouses filled to bursting with "unclaimed" goods. What is more, the producer becomes unused to using his initiative and looking for possible buyers, and so he sometimes loses his head when faced with the need to do this. We can hardly manage without intermediary firms which, familiar with the wholesale market, would not only assist manufacturers with regard to supply but also with sales....

But this is a matter for the relatively distant future. At present, the most stringent resource-saving is a vital necessity. The planned pace of economic and social development is simply unattainable without this. But the matter should not be reduced to saving raw and other materials and semifinished products. There are other resources as well: manpower, financial, and natural resources.

There is another very important point: It is wrong to regard the resource-saving program as something not in keeping with the general policy aimed at rejecting administrative management methods. If this program is to be carried through, it is also essential to make the broadest possible use of the economic accountability principle, which is the main "counterweight" to a cost-based economy.

Jan-Sep Financial Performance Summarized

PM270907 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "In the Mirror of Statistics": "Financial Levers. Output Prime Cost and Financial Results of Industry's Work"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that in January-September of this year, the plan for industrial output prime cost was fulfilled, and above-plan savings of R1.5 billion were obtained. In comparison with the same period last year prime cost fell by 0.6%.

However, at almost 25% of enterprises, actual prime cost exceeded planned prime cost, and 42% of enterprises in the machine building complex and more than 50% in the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, and the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances fell into this category.

The profits plan was fulfilled, and R389 million more profit was made than planned. At the same time, there was a shortfall of R511 million in accumulations in the machine building complex solely due to nonfulfillment of the plan.

Fines paid by enterprises mainly for violating contractual obligations had a substantial influence on the financial indicators of individual ministries. The total fines, penalties, and forfeits paid in the USSR Ministry of Light Industry amounted to almost R700 million, including nearly R500 million for delivery shortfalls, to R220 million and R137 million respectively in the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, and to R128 million and R76 million respectively in the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry.

Importance of Delivery Targets Emphasized

PM271045 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

["Our Dialogue" article by Vladimir Shilov: "Business Reliability;" passages in boldface as published]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] According to the State Committee for Statistics data, **approximately 33% of industrial enterprises have not fulfilled their delivery commitments and owe consumers output worth almost R11 billion** (for the country as a whole). Such is the price of economic unreliability. Plants working under the former conditions were able to adjust their economy somehow by making amendments [to plans] and by producing unplanned and above-plan output. But now enterprises in the six sectors which have switched to self-financing have found themselves in a difficult financial and economic situation. The USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry has paid R139 million in fines and forfeits, the RSFSR Ministry of Light Industry has paid R175 million, and the Ministry of the Textile Industry has paid R285 million. Most of the fines stem from nonfulfillment of contractual pledges. Leaders preparing their collectives for the transition to complete economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing have something to ponder and draw the necessary lessons from: Any breakdown of contract discipline must be paid for out of plant funds and family budgets.

The economic priority of delivery discipline requires a higher level of economic management: timely preparation of production, explanation of each worker's specific tasks, efficient rhythm, fulfillment of targets for the entire subassembly product list, high quality in components and assemblies. Otherwise it is simply impossible to work under conditions of self-financing. [passage omitted]

As we can see, the observance of contractual economic discipline depends on many factors. But the business reliability of each worker in each workplace—at the machine tool, on the assembly line, in the design office, in the plant administration, in the offices of ministries and planning and supply departments—is the common basis. **The party's most important concern is to instill and affirm in practical economic activity professional qualities in line with the new economic conditions.** Party and economic cadres have still not reoriented themselves everywhere in the light of the new tasks of restructuring. For instance, Kamchatka, Lipetsk, Murmansk, and Ryazan Oblasts, thanks to exactingness and control on the part of local party and soviet organs, have managed to sharply reduce the delivery backlog and achieve nearly 100% fulfillment. It is a different situation in the industry of Vologda, Vladimir, Ivanovo, Perm, Sverdlovsk, Yaroslavl, and many other oblasts, where 50-60% of labor collectives do not comply with contractual delivery pledges. Clearly, in the course of the upcoming party examination and analysis of restructuring this situation will be strictly examined both at primary organization meetings and at party raykom and gorkom plenums. This year's production and economic results and enterprise collectives' readiness to work in conditions of complete **economic accountability** depend to a large extent on this.

Scientific

Satellite 'Cosmos-1897' Launched 26 Nov

LD271456 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 27 November, (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-1897," was launched in the Soviet Union on 26 November. The satellite has been placed in orbit by a "Proton" booster rocket.

The satellite carries scientific equipment for continuing space research and experimental equipment for retransmitting telegraph and telephone information in the centimetric wave band.

The satellite has been placed in a circular orbit with the following parameters: period of revolution, 23 hours 55 minutes; distance from the earth's surface, 35,770 kilometers; inclination to the equatorial plane, 1.4 degrees.

The equipment aboard the satellite is working normally.

More on 'Mir' Scientific Research Complex

Cosmonaut Sets World Record

LD270636 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Text] The official world record for time spent in space belonged to our cosmonaut Valeriy Ryumin up until now. He spent almost 362 days in space. According to the rules of the International Astronautical Federation, a new record for length of time spent in space is only registered when the previous record is exceeded by 10%. Yesterday Yuriy Romanenko reached this figure.

Today the crew of the *Mir* scientific research complex will make a series of photographs of the earth's surface. In keeping with the program for studying materials in space, on the new Mirror-beam [Zerkalno-luchevoy] furnace installation experiments are planned to study crystallization processes of various materials in conditions of weightlessness. Work in the near-earth orbit is being carried out in accordance with the flight schedule. Both cosmonauts are feeling well.

Experiments Previewed

LD250532 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] The new working day on the *Mir* scientific-research complex will begin with medical checkups. During the day, the crew will be busy unloading the

transport spaceship "Progress-33," assembling equipment for technological experiments, and taking measurements of the optical features of the earth's atmosphere. In keeping with the international program "Astrophysical Research," with the help of the "Roentgen" orbital observatory, it is planned to make several series of measurements of X-rays from celestial sources in one of the remote galaxies. Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are healthy and feeling well. The lengthy flight in near-earth space is being carried out in keeping with the planned program.

Military

Yazov Returns Home From Pact Meeting

LD261614 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and defence minister of the USSR, returned to Moscow from Bucharest today.

He headed a Soviet Armed Forces delegation to a session of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers' Committee.

Gen. Yazov was welcomed at the airport in Moscow by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Medvedev and other officials.

Missile Officers' Training Described

PM251003 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[V. Shcherban report under rubric "19 November Is Rocket Forces and Artillery Day": "Chronicle of a Duty Shift. Our Correspondent Reports From Strategic Rocket Forces Command Post"]

[Text] All-seeing satellite-based apparatus has long probed every square meter of the earth. Missile silo locations are no secret. But the things concealed in subterranean command posts are very hush-hush.

...We descended below ground in a slow elevator to the training command post. Metal girders, reinforced concrete...

"All our officers have graduated from higher missile schools," Political Officer V. Anpilogov said on the way. "Here they progress from greenhorns to aces. They hone their skill during daily training drills."

We sometimes think that nuclear alerts only occur in the West. But it is naive to think that our missile firing officers sit around with arms folded. They are "drilled" in training classes, where everything is just as it is under ground, except that the sun peeps through the windows. One scenario gives way to another: There is an outage in the power supply, then somewhere in the distance an unauthorized missile launch has occurred, then a fire has broken out in a section, and then the "Green Berets" attack. This goes on for 3 hours every day. They can be debarred from alert duty for mistakes, either temporarily or forever.

They have to "run through" these situations dozens of times, hundreds of times, so that their skill becomes automatic. If you wake them at night, they will answer unhesitatingly what they must do and how it must be done.

We entered the command post through a hatchway. Training duty takes place in the same underground container as at the command post. The small room is crammed with computer panels and communications equipment. The men sitting at the control panels did not get up to meet us. They only nodded in welcome. They sit in soft, comfortable chairs wearing safety belts, like pilots during a flight. The compartment is decorated in bright colors. There is an ionizer on the ceiling—a device which removes static electricity. To the right of crew member No 1 is a telephone, various control panels, and a safe. Officers come down here for the "nuclear watch."

Who are these people? Lieutenant Colonel P. Sapozhnikov is No 1, and Senior Lieutenant A. Shevelev is No 2 in the crew. They are both "thoroughbred" missile specialists. They have strong nerves, instantaneous reactions, and an excellent appetite, and, very importantly, they are sound sleepers. But more about this later. While on duty they are forbidden to get up, walk about, or be distracted.

They were selected for their psychological compatibility. After their duty shift, they go up to the surface to breathe ordinary air, see their children, wives, and friends, go visiting, hunting, and do some reading. After a while they are back on alert duty at the control panels. This is their work. These officers are carefully selected for work in this area. The main thing needed in their work is high professional skill and moral and psychological stability. They told me that provision is also made for active leisure time in the periods between duty shifts. Like a railroad car, the rest room contains folding bunks so you can lie down, a television, chess sets, a samovar, books, a "Morozko" icebox with a supply of products, and a "Volna" radio.

Their shift began at the training command post.

These people are quick to understand one another. A gesture from one of them means a sentence to the other; a look is enough to convey a thought. This does not come in a day or a week. It takes years of working together. However, I think that very detailed knowledge of instructions kept by the control panels also makes such mutual understanding possible.

"A while ago we saw the American movie *The Day After*," Shevel said. "It contains an episode in which an automobile drives around a city after a nuclear strike.

The hero of the movie is looking for his relatives. This is all very impressive. But I think that after a missile strike, there will simply be no one to drive around. Chernobyl was a small ripple. Everyone knows what happened. One warhead contains many Chernobyls...."

"How will we find out that an attack is on its way?" Sapozhnikov pointed to a red screen. It would be better if it never lit up. He continued:

"People have 'trained' their highly accurate missiles as though they were living things, bloodhounds that can track down a target in any part of the world without error," the No 1 crew member said. "We know that the enemy plans to inflict a nuclear missile strike on our command post. We also know roughly the capacity of the charge. A thousand times bigger than the charge exploded at Hiroshima!"

Suddenly a siren began to wail in the bunker, echoing off its iron walls—and the red screen lit up— the combat crew's normal training session.

"Alert!"

"Nuclear missile attack!"

All systems were enabled. The needles of the instruments quivered.

...No 1 put his key in the "Launch" position.

...He took the cover off the red button.

But I was not merely a spectator at this impressive performance. Just as at a good show, a time came when I ceased to think of myself as a spectator and became a direct participant in it. Later, when the legend "Alert Over" lit up on the screen, I heard my pulse hammering as though I had completed a fast run.

I imagined what could have happened next.

...The command post shook. I saw the missile launched from the silo disappear in the sky. It vanished like a shadow, like a ghost into the distant sky. A few moments later, missiles of another shape and color appeared, coming toward us. We saw them skirt the mountains, hugging the terrain. Figures flashed up with incredible speed. We could see how much time remained before they hit...

Thirty seconds...

Ten...

Five seconds...

Above the hills under which we were sitting, a fireball flared up and, slowly changing shape, began to turn into a fiery mushroom. There was such a shock wave that, but for the belts, we would have flown out of our seats. The lights went out and smoke wafted about....

"Gas masks!"—I heard the order.

...The air had a metallic aftertaste.

The fan was working furiously, sucking from the compartment the smell of sweat and the air heated by the instruments.

"All clear...."

No 1 and No 2 settled back in their chairs. They were silent. No, it is no coincidence that before coming on alert duty all the missile firing officers undergo a strict medical examination; their blood pressure and pulse are checked. No one is allowed on duty without a medical certificate bearing a doctors' stamp saying "healthy." What stress they suffer on duty! By the age of 40, they have high blood pressure and suffer from insomnia.

...There's a blizzard up on the surface. I can hear a newscast on the radio in the neighboring hotel room.

...Agricultural working people are ahead of schedule...

...An interesting experiment has been proposed...

...Radio "Mayak" is on the air. It is 1600 hours Moscow time...

A new shift begins at the training command post.